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SOME VALUES IN THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

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No two phrases are so apt to arouse suspicion in the mind of the average Lutheran as the phrases "social gospel" and "social service." If one wants to stigmatize a preacher one need only say of him that he preaches a social gospel. The implication is that he has ceased to be a true Lutheran preacher, and, at least within Lutheran circles, deserves little consideration. And if one wishes to characterize the spirit of the Inner Mission one need only say that it is not social service. The implication is that social service is everything that the Inner Mission is not and has little desire to be.

This strong aversion is not wholly undeserved. There are reasons for it. Preaching a social gospel has only too often meant preaching a new gospel in which the great redemptive work of our Lord Jesus Christ was minimized and human achievement substituted in its place. And social service has only too often manifested itself as a purely humanitarian activity lacking the essential Christian motive and Christian dynamic. By holding aloof from these activities and refusing even to admit into its vocabulary the terms by which they are known, the Lutheran church on the whole has been able to guard itself against their dangerous tendencies. Our church is still an "evangelical" Lutheran church and the characterization has never meant more than it does at the present day.

But there is a danger lest our legitimate aversion to a certain type of social Christianity degenerate into a deep-set prejudice which will blind our eyes to an element of truth in the gospel and thus prevent our church from making its rightful contribution to the religious life of the nation. That the kind of social Christianity advocated by the leading exponents of the social gospel is a perversion of New Testament teaching will scarcely admit of contradiction. But that the whole social movement within organized Christianity deserves therefore to be brushed aside with an impatient gesture does not necessarily follow. Beneath every perversion of the truth some good may usually be found, if only in the form of protest. And it is the part of both wisdom and honesty to examine the matter carefully, to discover, if possible, any weaknesses or defects which may have given rise to the perversion. Not only may such a course prevent troublesome resentment, but it may actually discover opportunities for making the work of the church more effective.

Let us frankly see then whether there is anything worthy of serious consideration in the social gospel. Apart from those extreme features which have made it so distasteful to the conservatively minded—its pretentious claims, its superficial treatment of human nature, its disregard of the need of repentance and faith, its materialization of the Kingdom of God—are there any truths in the old gospel which it makes emphatic? What can the conservative Christian learn from it that will make his Christianity a more effective Christianity?

For one thing, the social gospel may serve to remind us of the fact that Christianity is neither an ethic without a religion, nor a religion without an ethic, but an ethical religion, in which belief and conduct are indissolubly joined. To be sure, the social gospel in its protest against an exaggerated individualism in religion went too far. It virtually made of Christianity a social ethic without a religion. But in its fundamental insistence that Christianity can and should be practised in the or-

dinary social relationships of life it followed a sound impulse. For Christianity is essentially an ethical relgion. In it faith and works are so united that to separate them means to destroy the value of both. Only where works are rooted in faith and faith brings forth fruit in works is pure and undefiled Christianity to be found.

What the full recognition of this unique truth would mean can only be conjectured; but that it is full of dynamic possibilities can easily be seen. It was as an ethical religion that Apostolic Christianity approached the ancient world and gained the victory over its rivals so decisively. There were other religions, many of them redemptive religions, abroad in the Roman Empire at the time of the advent of Christianity. And as for ethics, many of the finest maxims and precepts of the New Testament had been anticipated by the philosophers, and were being taught as rules of conduct long before Paul crossed the Hellespont. But neither the mystery cults as religions nor Stoicism as an ethic could compete with Christianity, largely because the latter alone bridged the chasm between the seeming and the being, between desire and accomplishment. In the example which Christianity held before men in the historic Jesus, and in the dynamic with which it supplied men in the glorified Christ, it had what no other cult or system possessed,—a religion which at the same time was an ethic, and an ethical ideal which at the same time furnished men with the means of attaining it.

This conviction, that in Christianity faith and works, belief and conduct, are intimately fused together, is a truth which the emphasis of the social gospel may serve to quicken into newness of life. Perhaps there is not as much complacency in the average congregation as those outside the church are inclined to think there is. Nevertheless, the tendency to substitute the seeming for the being, the good intention for the deed, is always present and needs strenuously to be combatted. Unless preaching reaches the conscience and re-enforces the will, it is not true preaching, however stimulating intellectually it

may be. The love of God as manifested in worship must inspire the worshipper to go forth as intent upon fulfilling the second commandment as he was upon fulfilling the first. And the second commandment concerns our social relationships. To this extent our gospel is a social gospel, and the right attitude in social relationships constitutes not only a legitimate but an indispensable part of the church's message and work.

Another lesson which the current social gospel may teach us is the value of reality in preaching. The thing which the word "reality" connotes is in the ascendency today. The "quest for reality" has come to assume the form of a psychological epidemic. There is an impatience with everything that is extraneous, irrelevant, unimportant, merely time-consuming. Somewhat after the example of the business executive of modern fiction, men everywhere, in every endeavor, want "to get down to business," to penetrate immediately to the heart of things in a way they can understand, whether it be philosophy, psychology, history or cosmic evolution. What is it all about? they are asking with impatience, and they want the story told in as simple and concise a way as possible.

Perhaps this "quest for reality" is not itself above criticism. Nevertheless, the situation has created an attitude of mind which the Christian pulpit cannot ignore. The search for reality in religion at the present day is as keen as in any other realm of truth. The men and women who are sitting in the pews are men and women who have brought with them from the shop and the office, the home and the street, the problems with which they are wrestling and for which they are seeking solutions. They want to know what answer religion has to give them, and they expect the preacher to tell them in as simple and direct a way as possible.

The situation is full of opportunity but it also involves a grave responsibility. The tendency under the pressure of this demand is to become superficial and to regard as irrelevant what is after all essential. That is where the social gospel has erred. It has endeavored to solve all

mankind's problems, its individual as well as its collective problems, without recourse to any intricate theology, even without requiring a personal and individual faith in Jesus Christ. For that reason it has failed. But in its insistence that Christianity must answer the questions which men and women are asking, questions which concern their work and their play, their home-life and their public responsibilities, the social gospel is right. To evade these questions is to expose the Christan pulpit to the charge of inefficiency or even cowardice. And there are no shortcomings with which this frank and business-like age is apt to be more out of sympathy than with these.

A third lesson which we may learn from the social gospel is to hope for the accomplishment of results in a large way. We need not necessarily expect to inaugurate a new social order in order to expect large results. Still less need we expect to usher in the triumph kingdom of God. The kingdom of God may be depended upon to come in God's own time and in God's own way. All that is required is that we have faith in the ability of the gospel to break the power of sin in the human heart. With faith in the gospel the solution of every social problem, even that of war, should seem never so assured. Ultimate success may have to be projected far into the future, but it should at least come within the range of possibility.

It is true, no hobby may be ridden so hard without getting anywhere as the social gospel. We recall the plaint of a devout Presbyterian elder: "I wish my pastor would come down out of the clouds of internationalism and preach to me more about my duty as a father of a family." We are indeed to do good to all men, but lest such altruism become vague and diffuse, the Apostle wisely adds, "especially unto them that are of the household of faith." To be compelled to listen Sunday after Sunday to fanciful descriptions of the golden age that is to come, and to even more fanciful descriptions of the way in which it is to be ushered in, may become exceed-

ingly irksome. Still, there is virtue in climbing to the mountain's top occasionally. It gives one courage and confidence to survey the long tedious path over which one has come; and the sight of the journey's end, even from a great distance, provides one with the necessary patience and poise to persevere.

To what extent the realization of great social ideals should constitute an objective of the church is a question on which there is room for a wide difference of opinion. There are extremists on both sides. The visionary will exalt social ideals to a place of prime importance. The mystic will exclude them entirely from consideration. The real answer lies somewhere in between. For the most part the men and women who belong to the church are neither unpractical schemers nor disinterested devotees. They are men and women who regard their life as a trust from God which they are eager to invest where it will accomplish the most good. And it is expedient that the church offer them sufficient scope for their activity.

Had the church had a larger vision in this respect it might have prevented the complete secularization of sociology and retained within its membership at least some of those who have felt constrained to transfer their endeavors to other agencies and other fields. At any rate, we are beginning to realize that it saves a church from becoming narrowly provincial to manifest a healthy interest in the great social movements of our times, and to seek to contribute, even though it be in its own way and according to its own beliefs, to their furtherance and ultimate achievement.

These are some of the values in the social gospel. How they may best be utilized in preaching must be determined by the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the individual preacher. That there will be individuals in almost every congregation who will object to the incorporation of even these values in the sermon may be taken for granted. Where the conscience has not been developed to function socially there will be no appreciation of the social aspects of the gospel in however sublimated a form

they may be presented. But the conscientious pastor will not be deterred by criticism. He will be tactful and considerate; but if he is convinced that preaching the full counsel of God requires that he enter the field of social relationships he will neither evade the issue nor be content to utter harmless platitudes. He will make a serious and conscientious attempt at making clear what the love of God demands in all those social relationships which are under discussion at the present day.

One of the objections which is bound to be raised is that the average pastor is not qualified either by training or experience to speak on these matters. Problems like the elimination of war, economic justice, or the trend in the modern family, he is led to understand, are technical problems on which only the trained expert can talk with authority. Let the preacher therefore confine himself to his own particular field, and not attempt to discourse on subjects with which he is only vaguely familiar, or about which the man in the pew may know far more than the preacher himself.

The objection sounds plausible and has made many a preacher more cautious than he might otherwise have been. The fallacy in it is the conviction that the technical aspects of a problem constitute the whole of it. As a matter of fact, however, right attitudes are every whit as important as working programs. Without right attitudes to give them executive power, programs, however carefully drawn, are mere scraps of paper. On the other hand, given the right attitude of man toward man, and almost any program formulated on a basis of justice will work. It is within the realm of attitudes that the preacher moves and here he is free and can speak with authority on the basis of the very gospel that has been given to him to preach. Let the technical expert, the statesman, the economist, the legislator, the sociologist or the man who has gained his knowledge in the hard school of experience, work out a program. With that phase of the subject the preacher is not concerned. But with the question of how employer and employe, husband and wife,

rich and poor, the American and the foreigner should regard one another, the preacher has a right to be concerned. This is his field, and here he ought to let no criticism hinder him.

Had this principle been followed from the beginning, the social gospel would very likely not have fallen into the disfavor with which it is regarded in orthodox circles today; nor would the pulpit have suffered the loss of prestige and authority which inevitably accompany a false and discredited leadership.

Another objection, the force of which is felt no less by the preacher than the congregation, is the resentment which individuals are likely to show when their unchristian attitudes are exposed and castigated. It is a comparatively easy and inoffensive task to preach about the sinfulness of human nature. It is not so easy to preach about the specific sins into which our sinful human nature is likely to betray us. In the small intimate group composing the average congregation, in which every member is likely to be familiar with the habits and practices of every other member, and where the pastor stands in a peculiarly personal relation to each individual, to play the part of Nathan and say: Thou art the man, may not always be expedient. To be sure, if one could afford to be careless of consequences and intolerant of personal considerations, the task would be a simple one. All that it would require would be courage.

But bringing sinners to repentance through conviction of sins in these latter days has become an art and more than courage is required. Even though the preacher's voice might still be regarded as having authority and so allowed to reach the conscience, there is still the sensitiveness of the unrepentant sinner to be taken into consideration. Being an unrepentant sinner, his connection with the church as a rule is a loose one, and it is easy for him to take offense and leave in order to be received with open arms by a neighboring congregation. Thus the good intentions of the preacher are frustrated. It

was his purpose to seek and to save and he succeeds only in offending and losing.

And yet, difficult and unwelcome as the task may be, the preaching of an effective social gospel involves bringing individuals in a definite and personal way to repentance. There is no other way. However eloquent one may grow in depicting the wrongs and injustices of our modern civilization, so long as these wrongs and injustices are regarded as impersonal, to be approached as one would approach a problem in mathematics, no real progress will be made. The human equation is the crux in the whole matter, and this necessitates an alteration in personal motives and attitudes.

Not only is this true with respect to those great social problems in which all humanity is involved, but it is equally true with respect to those personal problems which men and women are bringing with them to the church, expecting to find their answer there. As a rule, here too repentance is required. Some cherished habit or deep-set prejudice must be surrendered, or one must cease from some shady practice in which one was wont to engage without protest. This is often disconcerting and disappointing, yet it is a fact which cannot be ignored. Without repentance, no real solution of any social or moral problem, whether of the individual or the group, can be found.

For this reason the thoughtful pastor will not hestitate to preach repentance. For him preaching on social questions means the release of power and not merely an exhibition of ability. He will not be content to be met with an indulgent smile, or a bored patience, or a critical estimate of his homiletical ability or emotional enthusiasm. He will not even be satisfied if he succeeds only in creating an indefinite and fleeting impression that something ought to be done about the matter without any clear impression of what that something is. He will endeavor to put his finger on the sore spot, locate the source of the disease, and point in no uncertain terms to the necessary remedy.

Unfortunately we have come to regard the social aspects of the gospel as in a category by themselves, and therefore permitting or requiring separate and exclusive treatment. This has made people peculiarly sensitive to sermons which charge them with the sins they commit in their social relationships. It appears to them that the preacher is going out of his way, forsaking the gospel, so to speak, in doing so, and therefore they are inclined to regard their resentment as justifiable. But the gospel is one: it is neither socialistic nor individualistic but comprehensive in both scope and application. Conviction of sinfulness must include conviction of the sins which we commit in our social relationships. Until this fact is recognized and preaching on the social aspects of the gospel ceases to be regarded as an eclecticism, the tendency will continue to be either to avoid the task or to cause resentment.

A third objection to preaching a social Christianity has its source in a conviction of its futility. There are not a few people who regard any effort by the church to alter the great currents of civilization as wasted effort. Perhaps changes will come, they tell us, but when they come the forces which will be found to have ushered them in will be economic forces, or scientific invention or discovery, or statesmanship, or popular education. It is these that control human progress and in comparison with these religion plays an insignificant part. Let the church therefore render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and not attempt to enter a field where it cannot hope to accomplish anything tangible.

Perhaps every pastor at some time has found himself in the mood when this argument appealed to him very strongly; when he has looked out upon the moving tide of men and things and wondered whether preaching could affect it at all. What can a sermon hope to accomplish in the face of those elemental passions which breed race hatred, sweep men into war, oppress the weak, pollute the pure, and refuse even to spare the hallowed family tie? Are these not manifestations of the world's power,

and must they not therefore be dealt with by world forces? Let the church confine itself to safeguarding the little flock within the fold. That is task enough without attempting to solve the whole world's problems.

So certain moods tempt us to believe. But are they healthy moods, and should they be allowed to dominate our thinking and planning and praying and hoping? Would the missionary enterprise of the church have appeared reasonable one hundred years ago if only numbers and size had been seen in the perspective? Would it appear rational today without the hope that faith inspires? When Jesus followed the miracle of the forgiveness of sins with the restoration of the paralytic's shattered body to health his purpose was to make evident that the forgiveness of sins was no less a reality than was the new physical life which appeared in response to his word. Should we not have confidence in the word of our Lord not only to remove the guilt of sin but also to break its power in a very real sense? We need not, as we said above, surrender to a superficial optimism which expects immediate results, or thinks there is no alternative to a completed kingdom of God or a discredited Christianity. We may set reasonable limits within which we may hope that Christianity will transform the social relationships of men. But that it has power to do so we ought to believe. Indeed the power will be in direct proportion to the faith with which we invest the word of the Lord to forgive and vanquish sin.

It is a faith like this, whether it be found in connection with the evangelistic or the social task of the church which redeems preaching from the oppressive thought that it is little more than a pious exercise. He who has once realized the tremendous power which is unleashed by adding line upon line, precept upon precept, will not be troubled by any thoughts about the value, real or potential, of a single sermon. Nor will he be concerned as to whether he should preach an individual or a social gospel. He will preach the gospel, and in preaching the gospel feel that he is having a part in the great work of

redeeming mankind from the guilt and power of sin, wherever and in whatever form it is manifesting itself.

What the future of the social gospel will be or what part it will eventually play in an advancing Christianity can only be surmised. That it has met with failure in the one form in which a serious attempt has been made to preach and to practice it cannot be denied. But that need not necessarily indicate an intrinsic worthlessness or an ephemeral career. It is our firm conviction that the social note in Christian preaching has come to stay. Other experiments will be attempted until finally out of a fulness of experience the church will learn to walk with a firm tread. Toward that experience, the Lutheran church, with its firm grasp on the gospel, and its traditional conservatism, if it is alert to the signs of the times, may make a valuable contribution.

THE SOURCES OF PERSONAL RELIGION

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Religion is relation with God. Personal religion limits this paper to the relation of the individual with God in distinction from the social and public relations men bear with him in states, churches and races.

Our relation to God is one of complete dependence. Without his constant support we would perish. By him all things consist. Without him was not anything made that has been made. The godless forget this and pursue their vain way unmindful of him, flaunting their vanities in his face. Yet when trial comes and trouble impends how quickly all cry to him. Dr. Henry Van Dyke has beautifully described this in "The Lost Word." A rich young convert to Christianity, becoming dissatisfied and not finding the peace he had expected, agrees to allow a sorcerer to take one word from him in return for the promise of unbounded happiness and prosperity. The word the sorcerer takes is "Father," the word by which our blessed Lord taught his disciples to call upon God. The youth attains great wealth and happiness, though he leaves the church and finds the conversation of Christians unintelligible because of the frequent blurring of a word he cannot understand. He finds his happiness incomplete and unsatisfactory, however, because there is no one to *thank*. Our natural sense of gratitude as well as our sense of need, shows our dependence on God. Later when misfortune comes he is paralyzed because there is no one to whom he can turn in his extremity. At last John Chrysostom, his old teacher, comes and leading him to repent, restores religion and happiness by restoring the lost word "Our Father." And yet it is more than that. It is not merely that we have forgotten—a slip of the memory or a false enchanter's charm removing our responsibility. We have turned from God ourselves.

Yet God loves us still. He sent his only begotten Son

to save us. All may find in him restoration and reunion with God. True relation with God comes through Christ. By him we come to God as by him God comes to us. The source of personal religion, as of all true religion, is in Jesus Christ our blessed Lord and Saviour in whose blood we have the propitiation for our sins and our access to God.

That reconciliation and atonement comes to each one of us personally through the Word and the Sacraments. They are the means of grace, the immediate sources of personal religion. This of course is well-known and generally recognized among us. Yet it cannot be repeated too often. It is very easy to be misled into seeking God in other ways and imagining we find him so.

HOLY BAPTISM

To most of us in the church that reconciliation and atonement came first of all in Holy Baptism. In that holy sacrament, too little emphasized and esteemed among us, there was planted in us the seed of new and right relations with God, the beginning of personal religion. By baptism we are born again into his fellowship. Unconscious though we were, God wrought in us. We became new creatures in Christ, reconciled to God and blessed with the promise of eternal life. We need to return to that primary source very often. From it the root of spiritual life has struck down into the soil of our hearts. From it our life has grown upward toward God. Baptism is the seed, the foundation, the root. When temptations thicken, the memory and covenant of baptism will guide and strengthen. When faith wavers, baptism will hold it fast. When the blackness of heavy trial blots out the light of day and we think that even God has forsaken us, the candle lighted at baptism will shine through the darkness with God's light. God is in covenant with us. He is faithful to his promise. He has begun a good work in us. He will complete it.

THE BIBLE

The seed planted in baptism is nourished by the Word

which comes to us constantly in many ways. First of all there is the Bible. The Bible is the record of the Divine Revelation showing God and man and the world,—man's sin and God's love. Reading the Bible is a primary way of planting and nourishing personal religion. No one can estimate the blessing we have in the ease and freedom with which all may obtain and use the Scriptures. No gift we can give another is so precious as the gift of a Bible or a Testament. Even if cut off from the services of public worship and the instruction of Sunday School, in the loneliness of the wilderness or the equal loneliness of a great city, in the Bible we may find companionship with God and the comfort and strength of his divine Word. No other book approaches it as a source for personal religion. No other practice is more fruitful than reading it for personal spiritual growth, stength and guidance.

There is little value, however, in merely reading the Bible. The operation of the Word is through the understanding. The Bible is not a magic book the thoughtless reading of whose words gives life. It is a book to be studied, understood and assimilated, if we would obtain its real values and grow in personal religion. To understand the Bible one must of course understand the language in which he is reading it. Even the English of the King James Version is obscure to many by reason of its archaisms, the changed meanings of some words, the cumbersomeness of the second person singular and other peculiarities. The Bible must be re-translated constantly into the language of the common people by devout scholars. No greater and finer task rests upon the shoulders of ministers than that. To take God's Word and make it clear to people is a primary function of the Ministry of the Word.

Reading the New Testament in Greek should be the daily practice of every minister. To omit the study of the New Testament in Greek and of the Old Testament in Hebrew in the seminary, or to make it elective, strikes at the root of an effective ministry. Whatever else the

minister may have, he must have most of all the ability to study the Word in the original. Everyone should read the Bible in as many languages as are intelligible to him. The different versions illuminate the Word. Its rich treasures are more than one language can compass. Personal appreciation of the richness of God's Word will grow, and personal religion itself will be enriched by reading the Bible in several languages, or at least in all the English versions.

Understanding will come not merely through variety of translation. Part must be compared with part. The Bible records a growing revelation. The beginning is intelligible only as we know the end. The end is clearer for a knowledge of the beginning and the progress of the truth. Every text or specific passage must be related to the complete revelation if it is to be understood, properly valued and used. It must be compared with all other texts and incidents bearing on the teaching involved; and the relation of that doctrine to the whole body of truth recorded in the Bible must be understood. A concordance and a carefully prepared system of cross references are needed, at the beginning. They will finally be supplemented by one's own cross references as knowledge of the whole Bible grows with use. But this will take time and thought. No culture can be acquired hastily, least of all culture of the soul. No fellowship can be enjoyed hurriedly, least of all fellowship with God. No grasp of a great subject can be obtained in a moment without thought, least of all can deep personal religion be so obtained.

Nor should such study be chiefly critical. It may easily become so. Bible study for personal religious growth must be encircled with prayer. It must begin with prayer, leading the soul from petty concerns and calming the mind to be receptive to the Word of God. Bible study must lead on to prayer as we shall see. It must proceed in prayer. Prayer must encircle it as the incense in the ancient and beautiful service of the church surrounds the Gospeller. The best way is to begin with

some well-worded devotional form,—a hymn, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Collect, "Blessed Lord who hast caused all Holy Scriptures,"—and then after a few moments of reverent silence waiting before God, slowly and reverently to read the passage for the day, being sure that every word and reference is clearly understood. Then use the cross references and the concordance, making notes of new light as it comes, and finally turning all into prayer as will be described below.

MEDITATION

Such use of the Bible easily passes into another great source of personal religion, the practice of meditation. Meditation is not a common practice among us. Because it is not, the lives of many are shallow, and personal religion is cold. Meditation is long, attentive, comprehensive pondering or contemplation submissive to the Holy Spirit and guided by him. It should follow Bible study as described above, or it may be a separate act of devotion. When used separately it should be preceded by some well-worded devotion as suggested for Bible study, followed by prayer for guidance such as the Collect for the Fourth or Fifth Sundays after Easter, the one for Whitsunday or the one for the Ninth Sunday after Trinity, by means of which the soul will realize the Presence of God and be led to look for the direction of the Holy Spirit. In meditating it is best to sit or walk slowly where one can be quiet and undisturbed. A church is the best place of all. We should keep our churches open every day for this purpose. Many have no other place to go where they can be alone with God. Many more than we think would use them for this purpose if we permitted it.

Meditation led by the Spirit should of course be orderly. The danger is diffuse daydreaming or wandering off into worldly or unholy thoughts. A passage of Scripture may be the starting point for meditation. From the simple statement of the text its richer contents may be drawn by inference, analogy and contrast. The words

themselves, the context, the picture they present, what they show directly or by inference about God, man and the world, the moral demands involved, the promises or hopes implied should be considered. Other subjects of meditation are attributes of God, acts and words of Jesus and the Apostles, the way of salvation, the articles of the Creed, the parts of the Catechism, Christian graces and gifts, symbols used in the church or typifying Christian truths, the Christian hope, heaven, events in the lives of saints, works of nature, past history or current events, and personal experiences of grace or temptation. Any of these or others under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and related to the Word will yield rich fruit through meditation in deeper spiritual life, keener discernment of God's will, better understanding of life and duty, brighter hope in Christ, warmer appreciation of grace and firmer faith.

Meditation should be concluded by gathering the "nosegay" as St. Francis de Sales calls it. The flowers of devotion and blessing which have blossomed in our meditation should be gathered and bound together in a brief statement or resolve and offered to God in humble adoration and praise, with penitent confession of sin discovered. Meditation must result in changed heart and life. Clear-cut resolution of definite concrete ways in which the furits of the meditation may be practiced in life should be thought out and offered to God with prayer for guidance and help. Psychologists are right when they warn us against vague stirring of the emotions or reaching conclusions upon which we fail to act. Scripture supports them, for St. James says: "He that knoweth to do good and doeth it not to him it is sin." To call on the Holy Spirit to guide us in meditation and then to fail to follow where he leads in changed heart and life is sin.

Meditation is not difficult, once the habit is formed. It is a most practicable and valuable means through which the way is opened for the Spirit to work profoundly in the soul leading on to personal discovery and

joy in new light and truth in Christ and his Word. The practice of meditation will become more and more precious and indispensable as the soul becomes accustomed to the silence of the sanctuary and the blessed brooding of the Spirit, and experiences the riches of the love of God and his holy fellowship in it and the heightened spiritual discernment and power which flows from it.

READING

Meditation under the guidance of the Holy Spirit leads to original and personal discernment of God in his Word and in his world. Another source of personal religion more commonly used and less laborious is reading. Perhaps no gift God has given men is more precious than the gift of speech. Second to it is the power of recording speech in writing. The voice is soon silenced. Words do not carry far and may be forgotten soon. The written record remains through the years and may be carried to all parts of the world. By reading what they have written we may share the experience of those far away or long dead. Meditation gives fresh and original experience. Reading enlarges our own experience with that of others. We are individually so small and frail. No one of us, limited and weak as we are, can receive or bear much revelation from God. God can show each one only a little of his wonderful love and grace. Sufficient it is, of course, even overflowing. It takes so little to fill a tiny vessel. But through reading we may receive what God has given others also. Reading is a blessed communion of saints. Through the works of holy ones who have walked with God and left us a record of their joy in him we catch new glimpses of his goodness, his holiness and power. Our little hearts thrill and are enlarged. So we enter more deeply into the knowledge and enjoyment of God.

The quiet hour and many others should include reading. To advise what to read would require a paper in itself. Every variety of literary form has been used and is being used to convey and record the experiences men

have with God. Poetry of course, but philosophy too, and narrative, and fiction, debate, sermon and drama. Mystics and theologians, story-tellers and preachers, scientists and philosophers whose hearts God has touched have all left works, the reading of which will kindle in our hearts also, the flame of divine love and holiness. When one reads what they have written his personal religion finds refreshment, expansion and depth. Reading leads to better understanding of the Bible and to richer meditation. To read the Bible, to meditate, to read what a Spirit-filled child of God has written and to meditate again and then to pray—so the truth takes root in our hearts and bears fruit in our lives.

PRAYER

Prayer is communion with God. In the full sense using the Bible, meditating, and reading devotional literature are all features of prayer. As has been said above, all these should begin and end in prayer. Prayer is opening the heart to God. All that is in it pours out before him; all that it can hold pours in from him. To unburden the soul to him and to receive of his grace is surely a source of personal religion. The prayer of unburdening is of three kinds. First, *adoration,* which includes thanksgiving and praise, when in contemplation of his glory and thanksgiving for his mercies the heart pours out its glad and grateful worship. Second, *confession,* when seeing ourselves in the light of holiness and love, our hearts are smitten with a realization of our sinfulness, and we bow down in repentant acknowledgement of our sins. The same vision of his holiness and love fills us with faith and confidence in him. Confession of sin is always followed by confession of faith. Our confession is: "I am all unrighteousness; Thou art full of truth and grace." Third, *petition.* In petition our souls unburden themselves of all our desires, pouring out our hearts to God in childlike confidence and freedom, telling him of all things great and small which move us, or toward

which we aspire, or with which we would have him bless our brethren. The blessed sense of his presence and goodness comes from such outpouring in prayer. It is a true source of personal religion.

We should begin our prayers by using suitable devotional forms to arouse the heart to heavenly things and a sense of God's presence, such as hymns, psalms, versicles and the like. Next follows the study of the Word with meditation and suitable reading. Finally the heart is uplifted and opened in adoration, confession and petition as the grace and power of the Word searches and fills it. This is the perfect prayer form. It is the form in which even the public services are cast. This is especially clear in Matins and Vespers, but it is seen with brief consideration in the Service in both its parts—the service of the Word and that of the Holy Communion.

SYMBOLISM AND ART

The Word, it is true, comes through the understanding. But the understanding goes deeper than speech. There are things which cannot be said. However exact and necessary speech may be, many of the deepest and subtlest impressions are received in other ways, especially through symbolism and art. Symbols are succinct epitomes of experience. A plain glass window is transformed into a sermon when a single pane bearing a triangle, a crown of thorns, a bunch of grapes or a sheaf of wheat is inserted. A cross even of the plainest yellow pine conveys its message of redemption constantly, though silently. The changing colors on the altar and the pulpit carry home the great ideas of the Christian year and the historic phases of our redemption. How much a church in which every ornament is symbolic of some truth of our holy faith may mean to the devout soul worshipping there. Even the arrangement and proportions of the church with its high altar and its springing arches lifting the soul to heaven are sources of strengthening and light for personal religion. And how much the subtle meanings of music bless the soul in rich har-

mony, noble rhythm, tender melody. The liturgy and the sermon owe almost as much to compelling form, rightly conceived and executed, as to the particular content of thought they have. Everything used in Christian art ministers to the soul and may be a source of personal religion. The long aisle of the nave, and the high arch of the crossing, the altar raised a few steps, the pulpit and its hangings, the font and its carvings, statues, perhaps, and symbolic ornaments, the glass in the windows and mosaics on the walls, pictures, vestments, liturgy, hymns, the solemn organ music, the sermon, are all art-sources nourishing strong and pure personal religion. Architecture, sculpture, ceramics, painting, embroidery, dramatics, illumination, music and oratory may all be means by which the Word which feeds the soul may come and enter the heart.

We should plan our churches carefully that this ministry of the Word may be unhindered and indeed richly provided for. As in our churches, so in our homes and especially in the room where we are wont to meditate and pray, we should surround ourselves with as much fine Christian art as we can obtain. Copies of nearly all the great pictures and cathedrals, many of them in colors, can be had for small sums. Our churches, Sunday schools and homes may become more than vocal with great masterpieces of Christian art by which personal religion will be kindled and inspired in the hearts of all. Perhaps in our close attention to the spoken and written Word we have overlooked to some degree the Word in art. No doubt the spiritual life of many would be richer if we cultivated personal religion through art. There is abundant evidence that the church has awakened to an appreciation of these facts and is moving rapidly toward a more adequate ministry of the Word through art.

EVERY EXPERIENCE OF LIFE

Art expresses the experiences of the soul in perfect forms. The experiences themselves arise from the great crises and minor events of life. Life itself with its ex-

periences is a source of personal religion. The Scripture says, "Every creature of God is good and nothing is to be rejected, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified through the Word of God and prayer" (I Tim. 4:4). Every experience of life received with thanksgiving and sanctified by the Word and prayer is a source for developing personal religion. The temptations which beset the youth are the occasions through which by the Word and prayer, he grows strong in spirit. The great experiences of friendship, love and marriage are occasions though which the Spirit of God works mightily in the souls of men, chastening, expanding and exalting one's personal religion. Sickness, bereavement, the valley of the shadow, received with thanksgiving and sanctified by the Word and prayer become real means of grace. Even the less notable experiences of life enter into the formation of personal religion. Playing a clean game, the discipline of study, the choice of a vocation, the decisions of business life, the conflicting ideals of early manhood, the enforced retirement of old age, all bring their blessings if received with thanksgiving and sanctified by the Word and prayer. For life itself in our sojourn here is but the occasion in which God works in us according to his will. Here he reveals himself as we are able to receive it.

None should cut themselves off from life's experiences. The life lived most fully is the life containing the greatest opportunity for deep personal religion. Asceticism is a false and unchristian ideal. Abundant and generous living in Christ is the right one. Christ intends that all have that full life. "I came that they might have life and have it more abundantly." He waits to give that fullness of life to all who live freely for him, receiving all he sends with thanksgiving; sanctified day by day through the Word and prayer.

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

Of all the experiences of life none is so precious as love and fellowship, especially the fellowship of Christians.

It is a prime source of personal religion. "Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God." Love is the very life of the spirit, as it is of God. We live according as we love. We really know only as we love. The more abundant and extensive our love is, the richer and fuller will be our life. One of the primary aims of life is to deepen and multiply friendships. In fellowship with others we come to know by experience something of the power and beauty of the life of God.

"Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I," our blessed Lord said. The fellowship of prayer and Christian testimony; the little group of earnest believers praying together, mutually exhorting and comforting each other; the cottage prayer meeting—what sources of personal religion these are. The movement started by Dr. Mackay of the University of Manitoba may have deep significance. It is called Corpus Christi. Small groups of believers gather for quiet informal prayer and mutual sharing of experiences of grace and joy in the Word. A deep fellowship develops. Dr. Mackay claims that it is through such fellowship that the true life of the church has continued through the centuries. Only as such fellowship is cultivated do any arrive at full Christian experience. It is one of many similar movements. The fellowship of silence began a few years ago in England, New Zealand and Pennsylvania quite independently, spontaneously and simultaneously a few years ago. The house parties conducted by Frank Buchman, and the inner circles of the Y. M. C. A. movement are all symptoms of the hunger of eager souls for spiritual fellowship. They are means by which that hunger is being satisfied.

It is right to have our formal services of public worship, the more dignified and formal and glorious in ritual and art, the better. We must have public testimony to the majesty of God and to our devotion to him in public worship of the most formal and exalted character. Such, as we have seen, is a powerful source of personal religion also. But besides, we must have the intimacy and free-

dom of the small prayer meeting, the song service, the cottage meeting, the inner circles, the Corpus Christi band. If we do not, we shall perish in cold formality. Perhaps one of the dangers we face in our church today is the tendency to a beautiful, traditional, artistic but cold formalism. This has been growing on us not only in the Service, which should indeed have much formality, but even in the Sunday school and in the midweek prayer meetings, where they have not died out entirely. We need the intimate fellowship of a small group in which all pray, testify and give thanks. From such small meetings fervid personal religion flows.

PERSONAL EVANGELISM

Personal religion will also grow as we reach out and seek Christian fellowship with those who are not now Christians. Nothing strengthens personal faith more than personal evangelism. Nothing leads to an appreciation of human indifference, sin and weakness, or of the patience, mercy and power of God, as does the serious effort to win unbelievers into the fellowship of faith. Perhaps one explanation of the lukewarmness characteristic of so much present day protestantism is that so few bear personal witness to their faith. The minister in many congregations is the only evangelist. Such delegation of the privilege of witnessing for Christ and winning souls into his fellowship brings with it weakened personal religion. It was not only for the sake of the world that our Lord bade the apostles go and bear witness. It was for their own sakes also. We cannot have the faith and keep it to ourselves. Confessing Christ before men is a continuous duty, not discharged once for all at confirmation. Our faith will remain healthy only as we bear witness to it, seeking to draw all into the fellowship of Christ with us. In the practice of personal evangelism personal religion grows strong.

THE HOLY COMMUNION

Last, but perhaps most important of all, the Holy Com-

munion is a source of personal religion. Baptism plants the new life. The Holy Communion nourishes it. The early church met for the sacrament daily, breaking bread from house to house (Acts 2:46). In the orthodox Greek and Roman Catholic churches the daily mass is the rule to this day. So in much of the Anglican and Episcopalian. Our church is the only one of the great communions of sacramental and liturgical character which contents itself with a monthly or in most instances quarterly communion. We have inherited this partly from the scattered condition of the church and the few ministers of early days in America, and we have been content to have it so because many of us have been led to undervalue the sacrament by the practices of the Reformed groups about us and the theology associated with them. Such was not Luther's idea. The Common Service is incomplete without the Holy Communion. The Service of the Word leads to the Service of the Altar.

May the time soon come when in every Lutheran church in the land, the Holy Communion may be received by all who desire it every Sunday and on all the great festivals. A renewed appreciation of the Sacrament on the part of both ministers and people will do more than any other one thing to build up in us strong and reverent personal religion. The Holy Communion is the quintessence of the Gospel. It is the central ministration of the Word, at once individual and social, uniting us to God and to one another, cleansing from sin and strengthening in grace, planting eternal life in us and leading and pointing on to its perfect realization at the coming of our Lord. The church is built around the altar. The sermon leads to the sacrament. We beautify our altars, and rightly, as no other part of the church, for there we meet our Lord and commune with him.

MENTAL TYPES OF RELIGIOUS THINKING

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There is an ancient dictum which declares that all men are born Aristotelians or Platonists. Herein is declared that we do not *choose* to be idealists, or realists, in our world outlook and method of philosophic reasoning, but that we are born either speculative idealists or inductive naturalists and that we never outgrow our mental type. Generalization may be true in the sphere of philosophy, but it is not adequate in the realm of religion. There are more than two mental types in the sphere of religious thinking. There are at least five or six mental types which differentiate men in their point of view and in their appraisal of religious thought and life. Unconsciously these men are the champions, often the slaves, of some phase of religious thought and institution, and believe that their allegiance to the object of their reverence is based on deliberate choice and reason. It is this unrecognized bias and ordained approach in matters of religious faith and practice which has led to many a fruitless controversy in theology and polity.

We have charged certain men, and sects, with ignorance, bigotry, vagueness, narrowness and pride of intellect when all the while it has been the native set of their birth-given mental character which has foreordained their intellectual and moral outlook. One half of the misunderstandings and bitterness of religious controversy would pass away if we kept in mind the fact that each one of us represents one or more of various mental types in our religious outlook. The ideal mind would be one which combines several or all of these points of view in due proportion. Where shall we find such a synthetic balanced mind in the realm of religion?

These differences may be due to hidden streams of inheritance—racial, national and emotional that feed the inborn temper and determine the intellectual affinity of

individuals we seek to psycho-analyse, but the germinal and determining factor is still the man's own mental idiosyncrasy. To comprehend that is to explain his conditions and conduct. To understand a man's mental type is our first problem in giving hearing and weight to his attitude in religion.

The five outstanding types of mind I wish to present are the institutionalist, the traditionalist, the ethicist, the mystic and the rationalist. The institutionalist is the man who sees in organization the most important factor in the preservation and propagation of the Christian faith. The extreme type of such a point of view is represented by the typical Roman Catholic prelate. Perhaps it is in the word Roman that we find the far-off secret of this type of mind. Not only the Roman spirit of government and conquest has gone into the institutionalist's make-up, but also the Latin genius for construction and dominance. His is the *business* mind in religion, the recognition that resignation, discipline, and submission to authority are essential factors in building up a commanding organization seeking power and efficiency. We all recognize that the Roman Catholic church is the most ancient, powerful and influential organization in existence today. There is no civil government so vast, so venerable, so powerful, so astute and commanding as real an allegiance as does the Roman Catholic church. She is autocratic and suppressive of freedom of thought and action, but this very militaristic spirit is the secret of her steady and enduring power.

To relax her rigid discipline and claims to an infallible authority would presage her gradual dissolution as an organization. In order to bolster up her institutional power, she has to make certain doctrinal claims which can not stand the scrutiny of historical scholarship. Tradition is of equal authority with the Scriptures in her sight. She claims for herself the right of founding an unchanging body of dogma and discipline. At her head sits the infallible Pope. Of necessity she claims to

possess a reservoir of grace to be administered by an apostolic priesthood. She controls with her seven sacraments the entire life of her people from birth to the grave and beyond the grave in a purgatorial redemption. She sets up awesome gradations of piety for the religious, and another for the common believer. She opens and shuts the gates of heaven and hell for all believers. She has commanded kings and emperors, when in the full power of her march through history. She lays her hands on the talents, the wealth, the property of her adherents and still commands the obedience and veneration of her millions of subjects. Fear and pride are the dominant forces in the life of her loyal adherents. Her aim is the perpetuation of her power, and the amassing of her riches for the glory of God and the conversion of the world to her type of Christianity. She has learned the value of organization. She claims sovereignty even in the sphere of temporal power. The Curia will never be satisfied until she once more occupies physical territory in Italy and sends her political ambassadors to the capitals of the world. A divided Protestantism is puny in its power compared with such an organization. Rome is wrong in her haughty aloofness and assumptions, but we can not deny her power and effectiveness as an organization. This thoroughgoing militaristic spirit she seeks to cultivate through her educational, missionary and ecclesiastical propaganda in every land. This mental type as expressed in a rigid organization is both her power and weakness. To such a mind all other aspects of religion whether doctrinal, ethical or religious are subsidary. She has made a means the end and must meet a growing revolt against her autocratic power even within her own ranks.

The second type of mind at which we glance is what we may, for the want of a better name, call the *traditionalist*. He would no doubt call himself orthodox. This is the man who makes dogma, what he calls "the faith once delivered to the saints," the sine qua non of the

church and his religious life. To his type of mind organization is secondary. He may live within an Episcopal, Presbyterial or Congregational fold, but his stress and strain is upon confessions and the perpetuation of dogma, dogma which was fomulated in the œcumenical creeds or more particularly in the confessions of his own denomination. For him, *his* orthodoxy is the truth. He is all for the *reine Lehre*—the pure truth. In reality he is eager for the propagation of his belief, which he makes synonymous with the truth.

Now we must all sympathize with and applaud the man who believes he is holding the truth. If it were an open-minded and fearless reconsideration of early creeds and later confessions to which he is a sworn champion, we could go along comfortably with our brother. But for him theological truth was given long ago and his fight is to be loyal to ancient orthodoxy at all costs. Any departure from, or modification of, an age-long dogma is heresy, and is worse than schism in his sight. He would like to be catholic in mind but he can't.

Unfortunately for him there are too many orthodoxies in sight—Roman, Anglican, Reformed, Lutheran, to rationally make the exclusive claim that he has the truth under his own hat. But this type of mind we need to appreciate. It does make a great difference in a man's life what he believes, orthodoxy, or otherwise, and the contender for a faith is a man to be reckoned with and admired.

There is, however, a traditionalism that is paralysing to thought and truth. There is an orthodoxy that is little better than mere rationalism. The attempts that have been made to rationalize "the faith once delivered to the saints" have proven as divisive and destructive of Christian life as has the rationalism that explains away, or denies the verities of Christian truth. Christianity is not primarily a theological system, however orthodox. Christianity is a life—a life hid with Christ in God, and seeking to enrich the present kingdom of God by a humble, loving service of our fellowmen. We must

have doctrine. No man thinks without coming to some view of truth. The great thinkers of the past like Origen, Athanisius, Augustine, Aquinas, Calvin, Melanchthon and Hooker attest the splendor of the intellect applied to religious facts and beliefs; but who, familiar with modern science, historical criticism and the ethical advance made since the Reformation, would deny that we are far from a final interpretation of the mind and ways of God. We can state a few elementary facts of Christianity but the reality behind the facts, indeed the sure interpretation of the factual itself, is beyond the present power of the human mind. We know enough to be followers of Jesus and repeat some of his religious experience, but we see in a glass darkly and faith is more and better than belief. Jesus is our way, our truth, our life, not any confession however orthodox it may be. Let us be patient with our traditionalist.

The third type of mind we glance at is the ethicist or vitalist in religion. This type of mind cares little or nothing for organization in religion. On the other hand he sees that orthodoxy and morality are far from identical. He can point to licentiousness and simony in the orthodox medieval church and the deadness of Christianity among the theologians of the seventeenth century. So, for him, Christianity is primarily a moral life, righteousness, peace and joy in the kingdom of God. He feels he has come nearer to the truth of religion than the other types of mind. His sympathy is with St. Francis' humanitarianism rather than with the metaphysical prolegomena of John's gospel. Speculation and theologizing are neither his forte nor his aim in the religious life. Purity of heart, a will strengthened in righteousness, Christian brotherhood active in all good works, are his test of real religion. He leaves to others the formulation of dogmas and the running of ecclesiastical conventions. He has no penchant for organizations or religious rites however venerable or solemn. What he is after is social justice, integrity, social betterment, the extinction

of poverty, world peace, decent politics, civic honor, purity of family life, likeness to Jesus in spirit and his program of the kingdom of God. He grows impatient with our divided Protestantism. He would quickly amalgamate all our denominations. The historic traditions and varied cults of our churches are taboo to him. He is not satisfied with the Christ of either dogma or of history—with his apocalyptic background, but he must modernize Jesus to fit in with our concepts of religion and current industrial and political reform. For him Harnack, not Schweitzer is the true interpreter of the teaching and program of Jesus.

Now all this is good in its way, but such a type of mind would never build an effective ecclesiastical organization, or meet with intellectual needs of a religio-philosophic type of mind. We rejoice in our modernistic reformer and Christian saint of the twentieth century, but he does not fill the horizon of an utlimate Christianity in either thought or spirtual experience.

There is a fourth type of religious mind—the mystic. For the mystical mind organization, theology, Christian ethics and reform make but slight appeal. He recognizes them but has little speaking acquaintance with them. Religion for him is a far more profound and spiritual experience than that offered by organization, however august and authoritative the *Summa Theologia* of St. Thomas, or the social service associations. These stand on the periphery of religion and to him are hindrances rather than helps in his religious experience. Religion for him is the fading out of the picture of all other objects—Dogma, the Church, the Scriptures, even one's own personality. He centers his Christian life in the absorbtion of his soul in the being of God.

Now there is a safe and sane mysticism presented by St. Paul; but the mystical mental type of which we are thinking, to a great extent, ignores in its contemplation, its ecstacies and its spiritual absorption the historical basis upon which a healthy mysticism must rest. It sub-

merges the subjective element of man's personality, and loses itself in a vague objective spiritual essence which is illy defined. No doubt the deepest note in religion is the mystical union between man and God, but that union must preserve the distinct personality of both God and man. Christian mysticism must ever keep the historical Christ as well as the glorified Christ as a distinct factor in its adoring contemplation. As Herrman in his *Communion With God* writes—"We are Christians because, in the human Jesus, we have met with a fact whose content is incomparably richer than that of any feelings which arise within ourselves—a fact moreover, which makes us so certain of God, that our conviction of being in communion with him can justify itself at the bar of reason and of conscience." St. Paul's confession, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me," preserves both the historical basis and the subjective fact of a true communion with God.

However beautiful and romantic the Roman Catholic mystic's absorption in "the burning heart of Jesus" may be, however earnestly he may claim a direct communication of truth and spiritual life from God, his private and individualistic attitude needs the confirmation by a corporate experience. The Roman church true to form has guarded her mystics with an ironclad supervision and ecclesiastical organization. The mystic left to himself would become like what Arnold said of Shelly: "A beautiful and ineffectual angel, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain."

Another type of mind at which we can but glance is what we may call the rationalist. Perhaps a better title for this genus would be the intellectualist. He is represented by the man who believes that nothing is settled by authority—whether ecclesiastical, or biblical, but by a reasonable and rationalized experience of the religious life. Science, in the spheres of astronomy, geology, physics, chemistry, biology and psychology has made obsolete for him many of the long accepted dogmas and

interpretations of the church as touching the universe and man. His approach to the problems of creation, history, anthropology, the wonders described in the Bible, and the experiences of the prophets and saints is that they are all to be reconsidered and reassessed in the light of pure reason.

Now we owe much to those men who have reopened these fundamental questions in the interpretation of religion. Some of the groups have ruled out altogether any supernatural power, or personality, back of cosmic and human life, but it is not with this group we are dealing in this instance. We are thinking of the theistic group who insist that reason and reason alone must decide upon the validity and worth of our religious beliefs. Their philosophy is a mitigated naturalism, a pure intellectualism which seeks to explain all the phenomena of religion by a scientific process that will rule out the irrational and problematic. It is a praiseworthy but I believe an impossible and illogical endeavor.

There are two groups of facts that sheer intellectualism can never evaluate. There are, first, certain historical events presented in Christian belief that are not amenable to investigation, i. e. the incarnation, the religious experience of Jesus, many of his miracles, and his resurrection. Of course one may apply a philosophy of negation and declare "miracles can not happen"—but this too is irrational as Huxley declared. We do not know what can happen.

There is that other group of soul experiences, consciousness, communion with God, the triumphs of faith, the conversions of hearts, the reinvigorated will, the power of prayer, the very mystery of redemption itself which lie beyond the power of a rationalist's explanation.

Bergson may have carried his revolt against a pure intellectualism too far, and Eucken may have overemphasized his doctrine of activism, but both have seen the impossibility of intellectualism to explicate the religious consciousness and the religious life.

Let us make our religion as reasonable as possible, let

us make it conform as far as we can to the assured results of proven scientific facts, but, after we have done so, there is a whole realm of spiritual values that the physical and psychological sciences can not measure or explain. There is indeed no science without mystery, and a religion without mystery is absurd. Bertrand Russell says: "There is an intellectual inconsistency in the scientic outlook. The nominal practice of science is to accept nothing without evidence, to test all its assertions by means of fact. But in reality, as Dr. Whitehead has pointed out in *Science and the Modern World* science has dogmas as ill grounded as those of any theological system. All science rests upon induction and induction rests upon what Mr. Santayana calls "animal faith."

Of course he can throw overboard all incomprehensible doctrine and declare all research for Reality futile. In one sense, we must all remain agnostic. But there is a healthy Christian agnosticism practiced and justified by St. Paul. He wrote: "For now we know in part and preach in part... now we see in a mirror darkly." We can at best only apprehend, not comprehend, the seemingly irrational and mysterious in religious fact and experience. We have, however, the promise that some day "we shall know even as we are known."

Religion can not live without faith. The intellect alone can not fully understand the deepest things of life. In this sense, Pascal was right when he said, "The heart has reasons that the mind knows not of." The best that reason alone can do for us is to lead us up to the mountain top of probability. If we are to rise beyond that point, faith must give wings to our soul in order that our flight may bring us into the presence of God. It is still only the childlike and pure in heart who see God.

There is another mental type, perhaps it were better called another attitude toward religion that is difficult to characterize. Within this present generation a very interesting drift has manifested itself in some quarters of Christian thinking. Where thirty years ago there was loyalty to a person as the animating dynamic in Chris-

tian life and interpretations, and where fifteen years ago a number had changed the focus of this loyalty to loyalty to a cause, some have within recent years changed that focus of loyalty to loyalty to a search, a quest, if you will, as against discovery.

In this search they would approximate "the spirit of Jesus." They would find the beginnings of "the God" concept arising from humanity and not descending from Deity. In Jesus, as interpreting God in and to the world, they find an expression of godlikeness.

Hence as they throw themselves into the problems, the perplexities, the woes, the needs of humanity, allying themselves to his program and approximating his spirit, e. g. in questions of race, war, economic oppression, they not only find a solution of their own problems and are able, they claim, to sublimate personal passion, lust, hatred and evil desires, but they actually find God, since here he arose, had his being, and here must be the expression of his life. In a word it is through devotion to "the divine community" that we find the hidden God. I can not help but think that these pantheistic humanists will find that their God is but the "beloved community" apotheosized.

"Can it be then," asks Buckman in his *The Humanity of God,* "Can it be Humanity itself that is really God, the quest ending when it begins *in* man? Is he (man) himself, in his yet unrealized powers, the Sacred, the Numinous, the Worshipful?... The goal is not here. Humanity is—humanity, great and noble in its virtues, its capacities, its aspirations, and its achievements, but finite in its powers, pitiful in its weakness, ever conscious of incompleteness—the Son of God, but not God. It is significant that those who have attained the highest achievements in virtue and honor have been the foremost to cry, 'Not unto us, not unto us—'. That is the voice of humanity as a whole."

In the background of these crude and hastily sketched portraits of differing mental types in religious thought

there has stood one patient, great figure who combined in his personality all of these varied attitudes in due and perfect proportion. Need I name the possessor of that perfect mind—Jesus the Christ.

Jesus had the distinctly religious type of mind. Religion was his sole concern. His whole outlook in life was from the religious point of view. All his ideas and life root themselves in his experience of God. He assessed all institutions, all traditions, all duties, all emotions, all truth from his own religious experience of a Holy Father who transcends all human comprehension.

From such a profound and vital relation to a Holy Father the significace and value of the mental types we have sketched must find their true place and value. Where immediate personal experience of an august, awful, but loving Father is the germinal fact in religion, there organization and institutions have slight consideration and place. In Jesus' case, it is doubtful if he ever contemplated setting up a church, certainly not a new church. The texts which indicate that he did are questioned by even conservative New Testament scholars and are attributed to later redactors. It was the kingdom of God in which he was supremely, if not entirely concerned. All his teaching and outlook are to be studied in the light of the kingdom of God. The fulfillment of that kingdom, for him, was close at hand. His disciples believed that the coming of the Son of Man in glory would take place in their own life-time.

Though Jesus was a son of the synagogue, and honored the Temple, he was a layman at heart and saw that the Jerusalem rites and priesthood had become questionable growths upon the body of ancient Hebraism. They would pass away. He had no need of any particular form of organization in that kingdom which he proclaimed was at hand. He stood for order and propaganda in his religion, but had no place for clerical orders and definite forms of organization. It was left to his followers to build up the theories of ecclesiastical orders in a definite organization. He was the one Lord and

Master; all others were brethren banded to promote righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit. This did not mean the repudiation or neglect of plan and system in procedure, but he left to his future disciples to decide what forms of organization each group of his disciples might find most effective in helping on the kingdom of God. The corporate idea he had, but a corporation he did not set up.

Jesus' attitude toward orthodoxy is not difficult to define. In one sense he was a traditionalist. In another sense he was a revolutionist. He kept the old, deep and everlasting truths of Israel—its belief in the One Holy God, the fundamental moral law, a gracious forgiveness of the contrite sinner, the sanctification of all life, the Pharisees' belief in a resurrection of the body and the later Jewish idea of a paradise of eternal life for the saints of God. He complied with many Jewish customs. He sought, however, the fulfillment of the law through love. On the other hand, he attacked the hardness and assumptions of the priesthood and the hypocrisy of the Pharisees. His declarations concerning the destruction of the Temple, and his own resurrection brought him to the Cross. Tradition he saw needed spiritualization. As over against what Moses said, he put his, "but I say unto you." He saw the face of God revealed, and all earlier rites and views that were not in harmony with the advancing religious experience of the race, and the soul of God's greatest prophet, must fade out of the picture and a simpler and holier faith take their place. In the realm of religion, truth can not be fully stated. Truth finds its fullest and clearest expression in a life. He said, "I am the way, the truth and the life."

If he had been met by our religious ethicist he would have been found full of a divine ethic and good works. His healing ministry, his ways of comfort and counsel to the erring, his making apostles of lowly fishermen, his hill-side beatitudes, his eating with publicans and sinners, his new world of hope set up in an adulteress' breast, the children gathered at his side, his demand for

the cup that is clean within, and the pure heart as God's mirror—all these make him akin to our insistant vitalist in religion—but with a different emphasis. All this moral rejuvenation and redemption of his was the outgoing of an inward power that flowed from his person. Virtue went out of him. It was from the sweet recesses of a soul where God dwelt, that all his power sprang. His was an ethic viewed from above downward, not on the lower level of philanthrophy. He loved his brethren and did them good, but his mind centered on God as he blessed and broke the loaves on the mountain-side and poured the Paschal wine of a new and holy communion.

Jesus' communion with his father was perfect but he never lost his soul in a pantheistic mysticism. The Father was too great and exalted a being, and he, the Son had a distinct life of his own limited in knowledge and will. How then could he lose himself in God while Calvary awaited his cry, "My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me?" The mystical union was complete at last, and the Father's will and his will were one, but it came not through mere estatic contemplation but by a life of obedience, prayer, loneliness, hunger, pain, sorrow and the spiritual comradeships of daily life. He told us that we could see and find him in the giving of the cup of cold water, and under the lonely olive trees of a new Gethsemane.

He too loved the truth, but his seizure of truth was by the way of spiritual experience. The truths of God and the soul came to him not primarily through a book, or an organization. His doctrine he said was to be known only as we do God's will. How Jesus learned to know God so perfectly we do not know. He knew his Isaiah; he sat at a Rabbi's feet in the synagogue school; he mused upon the Nazareth hill and gazed through the mist of the Mediterranean upon the glorious setting sun; he went to the mountain tops at midnight to pray to his Jehovah, Father; he heard John's voice at Jordan calling "Repent ye, the kingdom of God is at hand"; but just how he knew God better than any scientist, philosopher or

historical critic is a mystery that we must wait to learn until we become like him at his coming. He said, "The truth shall make you free," but the freedom we need is "the liberty of the sons of God," a liberty that comes not through the intellect alone, but by a likeness to him made perfect through joy and suffering in God's cause.

I realize how imperfect and inadequate has been my attempt to show Jesus in his perfect mental balance and religious outlook. His was the perfect synthesis of mind and heart without which no man can truly see God. The last note in that balanced, perfect symphony of the soul ends in wonder and silence as we stand before the eternal and ineffable Christ of history.

There are times when certain men who cherish the idea of their intellectual superiority recall to our mind the words of Gratiano in the *Merchant of Venice*—"I am Sir Oracle, when I ope my lips, let no dog bark." We are amazed at their point of view, their cocksureness, and their blindness to the good which they essay to criticize. Let us not be impatient with them. Still better let us try to understand why they see but one side of the shield. Let us consider their native temper, their early training, their spiritual history, their flair, their inborn type of mind. Then though they disagree with our point of view we shall have taken all the sting out of their dissent.

For ourselves, let us remember the wise dictum, "The secret of life is the relative importance of things." To see and place truths in their proper proportion and perspective is the great intellectual accomplishment. Let us then cultivate a sane catholicity of outlook and sympathetic spirit. In this matter of religion let us bring to the test of a vital personal experience of God the various factors of religon. Then we shall have the key to the palace of truth and enter with Jesus into a life hid with God.

PLANNING THE CHANCEL

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A portrait painter, in planning a new canvas, begins with the face and head of his subject and not with the body or the feet. The most important, the most expressive, the dominant features of the work are first considered; others, however important in themselves, are developed later.

Similarly in planning a church, we should begin with the chancel, for the building may be thought of in terms of the human form. The nave is the body, the transepts the arms, and the chancel the head. The entire edifice has a strong sense of direction, and culminates in the chancel as its central and most expressive feature. Columns, aisles and roof-lines lead the eye forward. Pews and people face in the same direction. All this implies an objective, an architectural termination of dignity and impressiveness, well proportioned to the scale of the building itself, and dominating all other parts by an evident supremacy.

But even more important than mere architectural feeling, are certain historical, doctrinal and practical considerations. These also demand, as the focal feature of the building, something more than a mere platform, a shallow recess or an apologetic gesture in the shape of a belated extension. As we study church buildings of all periods and lands, from the earliest Christian basilicas to the noble buildings of the present day, we learn that the church has ever laid supreme importance upon this essential feature. It has everywhere sought to secure, in cathedral, church and chapel, chancels of adequate size and design, properly proportioned to the several needs of the respective buildings themselves. Doctrinally, the importance which we attach to the Sacrament and to the sacramental conception of worship in general, requires such an architectural feature in our churches today.

Many practical requirements also can only be properly met by such provision.

It is interesting and encouraging to observe that communions which historically have not laid the emphasis upon the Sacrament which the liturgical churches do, are now generally building chancels of ample size and traditional arrangement. This is true not only of the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians, but of Methodists and Baptists as well. These are all building Gothic churches of character and distinction which conform more or less closely to the historic type. In many instances these buildings have adequate chancels, with the pulpit on one side and the lectern on the other, and with a Communion Table, if not an actual Altar, centrally placed in the rear as the dominant feature of the composition. Choir-stalls are frequently provided for vested choirs in the chancel itself, and upon the Altar or Communion Table, is often found the cross, and sometimes the Altar lights.

All of this we expect in the Lutheran and Episcopal communions, which inherit the tradition of churchly buildings with adequate chancels, and whose doctrinal considerations and liturgical requirements can only be satisfied by such edifices. But it is gratifying to find communions which but a few years ago were building "auditoriums" of semi-theatrical design, with projecting platforms and the pulpit as the focal feature, now returning to the type of building which the experience of centuries has demonstrated as the most distinctive, the most worshipful, the most beautiful and the most practical.

With such facts in view, we may well repeat our statement above, and remind pastors and building committees that, as the painter first blocks in the head of his subject, so the architect in planning a new church building or remodelling an old one, must begin with the chancel. And before he puts pencil to paper, he should thoroughly know "the mind of the church" as to the real significance of the chancel and its relation to the rest of the building. What, then, is the thought of the church in this matter as de-

termined by centuries of experience as well as by the practical requirements of the present day?

The chancel is primarily the place for the celebration and administration of the Eucharist. It is also the place where the minister conducts all forms of public worship, and the place in which certain groups gather in the presence of the congregation to participate in one or other of the Occasional Services—Confirmation, Ordination, Marriage, etc.

It is a place of especial dignity and importance. All persons,—whether church members or not, whether Christians or not,—find a place and a welcome in the nave, where they may hear the sermon and participate in the Services in general. The chancel represents the deeper fellowship of the Gospel, where those who are officially called and proven officiate, where the recognized communicants of the church come to receive the Holy Sacrament, and where others present themselves to make their vows, to receive the prayers of the church and to be assured of the blessing of God.

The chancel must therefore be of ample proportions, a part of the building in organic connection with the nave, but yet separate from it. As the head and heart of the building, it must dominate the entire arrangement. It must be adequate for all formal and festival occasions, with ample spaces for all participants. It must be properly, even impressively, furnished.

The chancel should be elevated, giving an impression of dignity and of exaltation above common things, and rendering liturgical acts visible to all. It should, however, not be so high as to appear steep or "stagey." In churches seating four hundred, or even more, two or three steps will usually give sufficient elevation. These steps should be wide and low, never more than six inches in height nor less than fourteen inches in width. They should run across the entire front of the chancel, or, if there is a chancel choir, they should cover the space between the choir stalls. Steps which are only as wide as the centre aisle of the nave inevitably suggest the plat-

form rather than the chancel idea. Broad, open steps running clear across also express the vital and proper connection between the nave and the chancel, and afford an easy approach to the Altar.

The chancel should be clearly visible from all parts of the church and should appear to be the culmination and completion of the building. There should be no massive railing or choir screen to separate it from the nave. Such a screen suggests a view of the ministry as an Order, or, it at least fails to express the Lutheran doctrine of the Universal Priesthood of Believers.

The first strokes of the pencil in the hands of a capable architect will probably dismay the average member of a church building committee. For the latter most likely has been thinking only in terms of seating capacity and total cost. If he has thought of the chancel at all, he has probably vaguely supposed that a suitable projection to contain the Altar can be incorporated in the plan in some more or less haphazard manner after the more important dimensions of the "auditorium" have been determined. The architect, however, if fully informed as to the requirements of a liturgical church, knows that even in a small building, the chancel should not be less than twenty feet wide, and almost as many feet deep. Let us begin with the rear wall and go forward.

The Altar, with its retable, will require a depth of at least two and a half feet. The platform on which it stands calls for two and a half feet additional. A footpace must be provided on the level below the Altar platform, between the latter and the communicants' rail. This must be at least three feet in order to provide sufficient working space for two ministers in administering the Sacrament, as well as to secure proper architectural effect. The communicants' rail and the kneeling space in front of it require an additional eighteen inches or more to the edge of the sanctuary floor. The chancel proper, one step below the sanctuary level, should be at least six feet deep in a small church, and considerably more in a larger one. Thus practically sixteen feet, in

addition to the chancel steps, must be allowed in order to secure adequate depth in the chancel of a small church. If the choir is to be placed in the chancel, an additional seven or eight feet or more will be required for choir stalls, thus increasing the depth to at least twenty-three feet.

The size of the chancel, quite apart from all other considerations, must be determined by "scale," that is, by relative proportion to the other dimensions of the building. Fine effects of dignity, openness and relation can be obtained, particularly in a building of the pier and clerestory type, by having the chancel an actual continuation of the nave, and of equal width with the nave itself, i. e. as wide as the distance between opposite piers.

The square East end with a large Altar window is characteristic of Gothic churches in England. The large Altar window is particularly effective in chancels of great depth. In a chancel of ordinary size, however, it may be an unpleasant and glaring feature for the congregation, particularly for those who face it directly. A window of great size and aggressive character also inevitably distracts attention from the Altar itself. Whenever a large chancel window is employed, it must be filled with very rich deep-toned glass to cut down the light and reduce the importance of the window in the composition.

In a chancel of considerable size, the polygonal form of apse end, with several small and high windows, can be employed with interesting and beautiful effect. This is the usual plan of the French and German Gothic churches. In a small church, however, where the chancel is none too deep, and the Altar is built against the wall, the polygonal end is apt to give the effect of "pinching" the Altar. A square-ended chancel of the same size sees to secure greater dignity in a small building.

A definite sense of elevation and aspiration must be secured by the Altar and the reredos. The general effect of the latter should be vertical rather than horizontal. A broad and low reredos surmounted by a large

window dwarfs the Altar. The window or windows above the Altar may well be small, and elevated, as the crowning feature of a lofty reredos reaching up to them. If expense is an important consideration, a good effect can be secured by using a dossal hanging of deep rich material back of the Altar instead of reredos, the latter possibly being installed later. It is quite possible to omit the window over the Altar entirely and light the chancel by means of small windows placed high on the sides. A rose window is not good at the end of the chancel. It is far better in the West end of the church, or in transepts of large buildings.

In planning the chancel, fine effects of openness and distance may be obtained by keeping the Altar free from the wall. An open space of several feet behind the Altar gives the latter a peculiar dignity not attained otherwise. The passage also serves as a practical convenience in arranging candles, flowers, etc. The reredos is a particularly important feature of this plan, securing by means of its greater distance from the congregation, an unusually fine effect. A still more impressive plan is that of an ambulatory with open arches extending entirely around the chancel and behind the Altar.

Traditionally seven steps lead to the Altar, or an uneven number if not seven. This is a matter, however, which should be determined entirely by architectural effect and practical considerations, rather than by tradition or symbolism. In a small church, seating four hundred or less, five steps will usually be quite sufficient, unless the chancel is unusually deep. Three of these will be at the entrance to the chancel, one at the sanctuary and one at the foot pace in front of the Altar. If the sanctuary is deep, and the Altar is placed well back, there may be three low and broad steps instead of one immediately in front of the Altar, thus making seven steps in all.

In a very deep chancel with choir-stalls, it is sometimes well to elevate the space immediately in front of the sanctuary rail, two steps above the level of the chancel

proper. This portion of the chancel is then called the Presbytery. With this arrangement, there may be nine steps in all to the Altar. Every step entering the chancel, or within it, must be low and broad. Six inches is the outside limit in height, and five inches is better than six for the Altar steps. All steps should be from fourteen to sixteen inches broad.

One of the reasons why the chancel in Lutheran churches should be ample in size and open in arrangement, is found in the manner of the church's administration of the Lord's Supper. Communicants in the Presbyterian church remain in their pews and the elements are brought to them. In the Roman, the Reformed and the Methodist churches the communicants come only as far as the rail in front of the chancel. In the Lutheran church the Lord's Supper is called the Sacrament of the Altar, and communicants come to the Altar itself to receive it. For their convenience a light rail should be provided in front of the Altar, at the entrance to the sanctuary. This is called the Altar rail, or the communicants' rail. Even where communicants stand to receive the Sacrament, this rail is of value, as a protection and support. It is quite necessary in churches where the communicants kneel.

This rail may be of stone, if all the chancel appointments are of stone, of wood. or even of richly designed metal. In no case should it be so massive as to give the impression of fencing off the sanctuary or of separating it too definitely from the rest of the church. The rail should be set back not less than fourteen inches from the edge of the platform, and low cushions or "kneelers" may be placed immediately in front of it. In height this rail should not exceed twenty-six or twenty-four inches. It should have a wide opening in the center immediately in front of the Altar. A section of the rail may be made to fit easily into this opening when the Sacrament is administered, so as to give space for additional communicants.

Good order and prompt administration of the Holy

Communion will be greatly furthered if side exits be provided at one or at both ends of the Altar rail. Communicants can then approach the Altar directly by way of the centre of the chancel, and after communicating, pass by these through the sacristy or other rooms to their seats in the nave, thus permitting others to come to the Altar without delay or confusion.

A small credence shelf or table may be built into the chancel wall, near the Altar but separate from it, and usually on the south side. Here the offertory plates may be kept before they are required for use in the Service. Here also, when there is a Communion, these plates may be placed after the offering has been received at the Altar. When an alms-basin is used to receive the plates this is also kept on the credence. When not in use, the basin should rest flat upon the shelf and not be displayed ostentatiously in an upright position. When there is a communion, a lavabo basin, with necessary linen, may be placed on the credence for the use of the minister. Here may also be kept an additional supply of the elements, which the minister can readily secure, making it unnecessary for a deacon or other lay official to appear in the chancel.

The chancel should never be carpeted. In pioneer days in America, when churches were not heated and the pinch of poverty was felt, or later when sectarian views of the church building as a cozy auditorium prevailed, carpets were frequently used in church aisles and even in the chancel. Unfortunately the practice lingers in some sections to this day. The impropriety and inadequacy of such floor coverings in the chancel should be apparent to every one interested in churchly practice and sanitary conditions. Carpets in their best estate are essentially a furnishing for domestic use. But even this use is rapidly passing, indeed, has long since passed, in most homes. Floors of hard wood, tile or composition, with loose rugs that may be readily removed, have taken the place of heavy, dusty and musty carpets. No one would think of using carpets on the floors of stores,

banks, railroad stations or other public places. We should not perpetuate the limitations of our forefathers by continuing the use of inadequate and unsanitary domestic furnishings in the chancels of our churches, which, also, are public places and should be treated as such.

Chancel floors and church aisles should be covered with stone, tile, slate, terraza or other substantial and sanitary material. Tiles designed for domestic and similar uses are not suitable for church buildings. But "ecclesiastical tiles," made especially for church use, are not only appropriate in color and design, but are practically permanent and almost noiseless. These come in deep, subdued reds, greens and browns. They are solidly laid on concrete beds. Variety is often gained by using glazed borders and inserts containing various ecclesiastical symbols. The latter may be distributed here and there among the regular unglazed units. It is scarcely necessary to say that symbols of the Saviour, such as monograms of His Name or symbols of the Work of Redemption, should not be used in this place and trampled under foot. A good rug of churchly design and fine quality may be used with good effect in the approach to the Altar.

If stone or tile is not used, a good hardwood floor, finished without gloss and with a plain rug of subdued colors, is much to be preferred to a carpeted chancel. When stone or tile is used, all steps in the chancel should be of fine-grained stone or of marble, quiet in color and dull as to surface. Slate is sometimes used, but its general effect is heavy.

The walls of the chancel should receive special consideration. A simple wainscoting, such as may be employed in the nave, will not be adequate in the chancel. A massive base of stone or brick may be carried to a good height and bevelled back to receive the upper walls. Or fine panelling of stone or of good hard wood may cover the lower walls to a height of from six to eight feet and carry the eye to the loftier reredos back of the Altar.

Bare expanses of plaster or even of unbroken stone

wall should be reduced to a minimum. Plaster should not be used on the ceiling at all. If the roof of the nave is vaulted with stone or tile, the ceiling of the chancel may be similarly treated. In less expensive buildings the ceiling should be of wood. Trusses, however, are not used in the chancel, as they give too heavy an effect in the small space. Simple wooden arches are sufficient to carry the purlins which run lengthwise and upon which matched boards are laid. All the woodwork should be given a light stain without varnish or other glossy finish.

The lighting of the chancel is most important. This should be ample yet soft and well distributed. Effective natural lighting can be secured by means of relatively small windows placed high in the side walls. If there is a window over the Altar, this should be held down to reasonable scale. Instead of one large window, a triple lancet design may be employed. In any case the Altar window or windows must be filled with rich, deep-toned glass. Cheap opalescent glass in this place is insufferable for many reasons.

Particular care must be taken in the matter of artificial lighting. This, too, must be adequate but soft and well distributed. Crude survivals of early savagery still persist in some places in the use of glaring unprotected electric bulbs. Good taste has long since banished these from our homes, and they should not be permitted to linger in our churches. Flood lights, the fixtures being kept from view by the chancel arch, may be used. Wrought iron, bronze or other lanterns, or metal lamps of ecclesiastical design and rich workmanship, may be suspended from the ceiling with fine effect. The Altar should be the brightest place in the chancel, but the use of spot lights and similar theatrical devices is not to be encouraged. Nothing is more insistent than light. The eye instinctively seeks it, and this is one of the reasons why its treatment in the chancel is so important. Adequate yet well restrained lighting contributes as much as any other single feature to the attainment of an atmosphere of reverence and mystery. Nothing can destroy

this atmosphere more effectively than crude or improper illumination.

The chancel should be adequately heated, but modern refinements make it unnecessary for steam radiators and similar heating devices to be visible from the nave. These can readily be concealed within the walls, and heat conveyed through inconspicuous open registers or screens.

Other details concerning the Altar and its furnishings, the pulpit and lectern, choir-stalls and organ console, sacristies, etc., are important, but cannot be discussed within the limits of this article.

IN QUEST OF THE MUHLENBERGIANA

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At the request of the Archivist of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, Professor Luther D. Reed, the writer took occasion last summer to ascertain whether the library of the Franckesche Stiftungen contained material relative to the founder of the Lutheran Church in America not already known in America. The diaries and journals preserved for the Ministerium in the Library of the Philadelphia Seminary made it evident that Muhlenberg remained in constant touch with his spiritual father Dr. Francke and the institution at Halle to which he owed so much.

Recognizing this, the sainted Dr. Mann of the Philadelphia Seminary had procured through a certain Lic. German, copies of many of the letters, diaries and accounts transmitted by Muhlenberg to Halle, and reposing in the library there. The transcriptions made by the industrious Lic. German, comprising some 5000 pages of closely written material, were utilized by Dr. Mann in his biography of Muhlenberg, and are today a part of the Ministerium Archives. The passage of time and the death of both Dr. Mann and Lic. German have made it uncertain how much of the material was actually transcribed, and the interest of the Ministerium in its early history made it imperative that every scintilla of evidence concerning its founder be gathered for the use of the future historian before the ravages of time should have destroyed them.

Through the courtesy of Dr. Krusius of the Deutsches Heim, and Geheimrat Dr. Nebe of the Franckesche Stiftungen to which the Deutsches Heim belongs, the writer was given access to the ancient documents from the days of Dr. Francke. They repose not in the main library of the Stiftungen, but in the tall yellow closet of a small tower room known as the Ostindische Bibliothek, a mass

of old letters and reports, industriously sewed together into files. The files had once been catalogued, the catalogue itself and the signs of the cataloguing still being in evidence. Long since, however, the order of the files has been upset, and the catalogue become useless.

What a testimony to the faith of past generations these files represent,—narratives of heroic work and hardships in the distant Orient, above all in Tranquebar, learned compendiums on the language and religion of pagan communities, reports on "perils in the deep," privations and financial distresses. Less compendious than the files on India, yet bulky none the less was the correspondence dealing with the Salzburg community at Eben-Ezer in Georgia. Going back into the thirties of the eighteenth century these files antedate the Muhlenberg material by some years and surpass it in quantity. Scattered here and there among sheafs of other letters and alone showing the signs of usage, were the *Nachrichten über die pennsylvanischen Prediger.* They comprised anything from ancient deeds, witnessed to by men prominent in the history of Pennsylvania, to account books, bills, receipts, letters, diaries and journals.

Some of the gems in the collection were copies of old synodical minutes; a rhymed necrology for the congregation at New Providence, covering the years 1751-54, and composed by Muhlenberg himself; a deed for a parcel of land on Second Street, Philadelphia; a copy of a bond for one hundred pounds loaned by the authorities of Halle to St. Michael's Church, Philadelphia; an extract from a local account concerning the building of a school and church at Barren Hill, together with bills and financial statements relative to the same; the copy of an indenture deeding over the White-Marsh property to Zieganhagen in return for a loan; a Declaration of Trust made by Muhlenberg before the City Clerk of Philadelphia in 1771 relative to a legacy of 13,000 florins; a copy of the charter of the "New Germantown" congregation; a copy of the *Kirchenordnung"* for Zion's and St. Paul's Church and for the congregations in Hunterton, Somer-

set and Morris Counties in New Jersey; and a copy of the charter for a German congregation, the original of which had been signed by Thomas and Richard Penn.

Within the files of the *Nachrichten über die pennsylvanischen Prediger* are contained the Muhlenbergiana strictly speaking. Those that had been copied by Lic. German were for the most part marked with a small penciled note in the upper left hand corner, indicating the date of their transcription for Dr. Mann. Some, like the famous autobiograpy of Muhlenberg, begun in 1782 and never completed, were not so marked. It soon developed that while German had seen a good deal of the material, there were files that had escaped him entirely. One box contained about a thousand pages of diary covering the period between October 12, 1779 and February 6, 1784. None of this material had been transcribed, and that part of it relating to the period between October 1780 and February 1784 will fill one great lacuna in the diary files preserved in the Archives of the Ministerium at the Philadelphia Seminary. There are other gaps which it will not be possible to fill from the Halle evidence.

Of letters it was possible to list approximately 100 that had not been previously known and used. Among the files containing these letters, the one embracing Muhlenberg's correspondence from the days immediately preceding and following his journey to America, that is from the years 1741 and 1742, together with the file covering the next ten years of Muhlenberg's work, are extremely valuable in casting new light upon the young preacher's activities. All of the files, known and unknown, used and unused until today, are of exceptional importance in that they contain not only Muhlenberg's own letters, but also the drafts of Francke's answers to the letters in question, and such further correspondence as these letters evoked in Europe.

An example of the inclusiveness of the files is the correspondence relative to the Krafft episode. When Muhlenberg arrived in America he found a man named Krafft working in the congregation to which he had been

sent. This man claimed to have authorization for his work from the Darmstadt Consistory. When Muhlenberg reported the situation to Francke an exchange of letters took place between Francke and Fresenius at Frankfurt on the one hand, and Francke and the members of the Darmstadt Consistory, Panzerbieter and Berchelmann, on the other. All of these letters, leading to the discrediting of Krafft are preserved in the files of the Ostindische Bibliothek.

The file for 1741-1742 contains what is today the earliest of the Muhlenberg letters known to us. It was written but six weeks after the idea of going to America had first been broached to the future patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America. On September 6, 1741, while Muhlenberg was visiting at Halle, Francke suggested to him that he was the one to supply and minister to the spiritual needs of the dispersed Lutherans in Pennsylvania. Having shown himself willing to undertake the work, Muhlenberg returned to his parish at Grosshennersdorf. Francke meanwhile communicated with Ziegenhagen in England and received from him the full approval of his offer of the call to Muhlenberg. Francke thereupon formally extended the call to the young preacher and on October 18, 1741, Muhlenberg answered the letter as follows:

Reverend Doctor.
Venerable Father, dearly beloved in Christ.

I am of too little account to be able to thank you for the kindness which you showed me at the time of my visit. May the Lord grant an abundant recompense. I am in receipt of your Reverence's kind communication. It has shown me that the Lord would have the matter which has been taken in hand carried to its conclusion. His will be done. Having the assurance that it is His will, I follow on confidently. May He but be with me and endow me with faith.

My gracious patroness has not the slightest objection. She sends her greetings to your Reverence, his esteemed spouse and his household. I have shown my first call to the lady. She requested that I ask your Reverence how much longer I might be permitted to remain here. Your Reverence will no doubt be informed as to the season when the ships put to sea. If your Reverence

would have the kindness to arrange the date of my departure, I should humbly request that a space of eight days be allowed me in which to visit my mother and my friends. Much still remains to be done even here, partly in settling accounts, partly in adjusting the affairs of the school and the congregation. My lady and patroness intends to announce my impending departure to the congregation and to arrange for a farewell sermon. I therefore have no other wish than that your Reverence might fix the day of my departure, so that I can arrange to leave here in due season. I have reported the whole of the important matter to Kösteritz and to Pölzig.

May your Reverence in his paternal affection remember me and the whole matter in his prayers to God, that everything may redound to the honor of His Name, to the salvation of wretched souls and to the eternal wellfare of mine own. I commend your Reverence, his household and all his affairs into faithful hands of our father Jesus Christ.

Your Reverence's and
My in Christ most deeply beloved Father's
humble son
H. Melchoir Muhlenberg

Kemnitz, October 18, 1741.

Not all of the letters are as significant for the progress of events as this one, yet all have their interest one way or another. A letter of Muhlenberg's mother written to Francke upon receipt of information concerning the safe arrival of her son in America was not lacking in appeal. By contrast it was amusing to find Muhlenberg himself signing his name Henry Melchior Millbrough in another document. The writer was fascinated by a fragment of what had once been a lengthy report on political conditions in the new world, and on the relations of the whites and the Indians. Perhaps it will not be amiss to give here in translation such parts of the document as were still on hand. The document was dated Providence, Nov. 24, 1755, at the bottom of the last page. Its fragments run as follows:

....on October 27 of the present year a messenger, who subsequently passed our house, was dispatched by my father-in-law, Mr. Weiser, to the Governor with the news that the savages had brutally murdered 25 persons some 60 miles from his home and were moving in his direction intent upon doing further damage. In the

district of which I speak there are still living some 300 savages capable of bearing arms, who in the past have enjoyed the favor of Pennsylvania and who have pretended to be our friends. In addition to them there is another Indian tribe, known as the Delawares, whose ancestors inhabited the districts of Pennsylvania, when it was as yet primeval wilderness. This tribe is still quite strong, is familiar with the whole territory, and is acquainted with our customs. Very recently this nation has come to realize that it is the true and original owner of Pennsylvania. It is therefore laying claim to the whole territory. Now the French with their sense of righteousness and with their anxiety to assist downtrodden people in all parts of the world, have taken it upon themselves to be the advocates and protectors of the Delaware Indians. They therefore incite the Indians against us and furnish them with ammunition and support from their own Indian allies. The 300 Indians previously mentioned as being our friends are in a state of fear and trepidation as the result of this situation, and they must either receive the support of our government or else go over into the French camp and turn the edge of their hatchet against us, as they say. Now our Governor and the Assembly have been at serious odds for a number of years. The Governor is anxious to make extensive preparations for the protection of the countryside, while the Assembly, which is composed of Quakers, refuses to increase the burden of taxation and to vote money for purposes of war and defense, trusting that God will protect the land in some extraordinary and miraculous way. Our governing agencies being thus at odds, the savages are in a position to make ever greater inroads into our territory and to commit the most brutal murders. The inhabitants of the outlying districts are being driven to the necessity of moving their families closer and closer to Philadelphia and to other of the smaller cities, thus giving the enemy more and more opportunity to advance. Pennsylvania is said to have more than 200,000 inhabitants. Most of them are members of sects which denounce as sinful and wrong self-defense with material weapons. No one is quite sure where the sympathies of many Catholics in the countryside lie, whether with the French or the English. Of the others who have no religious scruples against war, and who feel that it is their duty to God to honor their king and themselves by restraining the violence of the enemy with God's assistance, the majority have long since beaten their swords into ploughshares and pruning hooks, and have completely forgotten everything relative to military drill. Notwithstanding this, small groups band themselves together here and there, purchase powder and lead, if it can be had, equip themselves with provisions for a number of days and march about the countryside, anxious to assist their poor suffering fellow-citizens, reaping for their voluntary and altruistic services only the contempt and the jeers of those factions

which do not believe in self-defense. Of course these bands can do little else than show their good will, for the country is too large and the savages have no fixed base but operate in small roving bands somewhat after the pattern of robbers on the continent. Whenever the report is circulated that a new atrocity has been committed, volunteers rush to the place of the outrage. Arrived on the spot, they find that the savages have departed and are continuing their depredations in another locality. Those who thus rush to the assistance of their suffering friends must needs neglect the work of their calling, together with their families, and in addition bear the expenses of their journeys. This condition is intolerable and might eventually lead to civil war. From day to day poverty and unrest increases in the countryside. In short, we in Pennsylvania are living in times of danger and continual disturbance.

....In the evening of November 15th of the present year, the Delaware Indians attacked Tulpehocken, some nine miles distant from the home of Mr. Weiser and some four miles from the residence of our colleague the Rev. Mr. Kurtz. They brutally massacred and mutilated some thirteen persons. Two children of the age of nine or ten years were scalped alive. They still live and are receiving the attention of physicians who are doing their utmost to save them. A woman recently confined, attempted to flee with her infant fourteen days old and two other children. Being too weak she fell into the hands of the barbarians. She was felled with a shot, and falling upon her face, covered with her body her infant child. The mother died and was mutilated; her other children were scalped but remained alive. When our people found her some hours after and lifted up the body of the dead woman, they found the two weeks' old child alive and unharmed beneath her. One of the men whom the savages had murdered was scalped, had one eye put out, and had received two stabs in the breast....

As a result of this cruel attack, the people of the district deserted their homes and farms and have moved down closer to the city, where they are proving a burden to their neighbors. In their poverty and trepidation they know not where to go and what to do, and with all that winter is at hand, to make things worse. These tribulations have a tendency to arouse many of our citizens from their lethargy, so that they pay more attention to the Word. Others, however, are becoming unmanageable and even desperate.

The fragmentary state in which this report was found is an indication of how imperative it is that the Muhlenbergiana be gathered and copied for the Archives of the Ministerium before the ravages of time weigh too heavily

upon the material. If we had the whole report still preserved it would no doubt be extremely valuable to the historian of our country.

What is true of the intrinsic worth of such a document, is true as well of the Muhlenberg diaries now preserved in the Archives of the Ministerium. They embrace many treasures and facts of ecclesiastical, cultural and political significance. By way of illustration we may refer to Muhlenberg's reference to the Battle of Germantown to which Dr. H. E. Jacobs, deeply at home in the literature, called attention at the recent anniversary of the famous encounter.

We have already mentioned the fact that the Ostindische Bibliothek at Halle is not in a position to supply all of the missing Muhlenbergiana. It will fill one great laucuna in the diary files of the Ministerium, and will furnish a large number of letters in addition to those which it previously contributed through the hands of Lic. German and Dr. Mann. But other gaps in the evidence are still visible. The Ministerium lacks as yet the diaries covering the periods from August 1752 to September 1760, from July 1767 to June 1769, from September 1771 to September 1772. Before the date can be made ready for the use of the historian, the attempt must be made to fill those gaps. Perchance the materials wherewith to fill them repose in family, congregational or institutional libraries in Pennsylvania. If so it would be highly desirable that they be placed into the hands of the Ministerium and its Archivist. The chances are, however, that they will be found not here but abroad, and there nowhere else than in England.

Muhlenberg directed most, if not all of his correspondence with the old world, to London. It was between England and America that most ships trafficing with colonies plied in the early days, and in England Muhlenberg had at least two acquaintances, upon whose spiritual guidance and kindness he constantly drew. They were themselves men of the Halle school and colaborers with Dr. Francke in his missionary enterprise,

these two, Ziegenhagen, German chaplain at the Court of St. James, and his assistant Albinus. Most of the letters addressed by Muhlenberg to Dr. Francke were therefore sent to England and forwarded from England to the continent. Many other documents, diaries and the like, which required no personal address were sent to England without further comment, the understanding being, no doubt, that Ziegenhagen, after reading them, would mail them to Francke. There is at least one instance in which Ziegenhagen thought the communication too lengthy and unimportant to forward to Germany in bulk. He feared to bother the overburdened Francke with too many details. For this reason he transmitted to Halle in copy but an excerpt of what Muhlenberg had written.

If the personal correspondence of Ziegenhagen and Albinus has been preserved in England it will undoubtedly add greatly to the store of Muhlenbergiana and perhaps fill the gaps which Archives of the Ministerium still manifest. That the manuscript material from the studies of these two chaplains has been preserved is quite within the realm of possibility, at least in the case of Ziegenhagen, for we know that Pasche, another acquaintance of Muhlenberg abroad, published certain of Ziegenhagen's own lucubrations after the latter's demise. Inquiry at the British Museum has revealed that Ziegenhagen's correspondence did not find a resting place there. Ziegenhagen as court chaplain, was under the authority of the Bishop of London. Inquiry has therefore been made of the present incumbent of the office to determine whether the diocesan archives contain the desired material. To date no answer has been received to this inquiry. Further investigation will be determined by the nature of the expected reply.

In addition to the material which may or may not be found in England, other Muhlenbergiana might be discovered if one were to gain access to the files of the Lutheran Consistory at Amsterdam and those of the corresponding body at Hamburg. Muhlenberg was in touch with both of these administrative headquarters. The

family archives of the Counts of Reuss at Kösteritz may prove to be yet another source of data, for it was the Counts of Reuss whom Muhlenberg served in his first parish.

Many avenues of approach thus open up to anyone who would busy himself with the inquiry into the evidence relating to the beginnings of the Lutheran Church in America. Muhlenberg's work has lived on. It has lived on in Germany where one might least expect to find its traces. Geheimrat Nebe of the Halle institutions volunteered the information that the school begun by Muhlenberg and a few fellow-students of the University of Göttingen in 1736, and subsequently placed under the direction of the theological faculty of Göttingen, still exists at the old university town. This on the authority of Professor Mirbt. If modern Germany preserves a trace of the influence of Muhlenberg, how much more modern America. This fact in itself makes the work upon the Muhlenbergiana a necessary and important task, and one which the Ministerium cannot afford to neglect, for the fading and crumbling pages represent a precious heritage, not only of historical fact, but also of spirit and inspiration, which should be made accessible to present and future generations of Lutheran ministers in America before it is too late.

EFFORTS TO CHRISTIANIZE THE INDIANS OF PENNSYLVANIA IN COLONIAL TIMES

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IV BY THE MORAVIANS

ZINZENDORF AND THE MISSIONS AT SHAMOKIN AND WYOMING

Moravians came to America as early as 1734. In 1733 arrangements were made by Count Zinzendorf to send a group of Schwenkfelders from his estate at Herrnhut to Georgia. He had received the Schwenkfelders in 1726 when they were driven out of Silesia by persecution. In May 1734 they set out for America, but changed their plans and came to Pennsylvania instead of Georgia. With them came a Moravian, George Bönisch, as an itinerant evangelist.

It was then decided to secure for the Moravians the tract of land which had been intended for the Schwenkfelders. Through General Oglethorpe five hundred acres of ground were secured for the Moravian church and fifty additional for the negotiator, who acted for the Moravian Brethren, this person being Augustus Gottleib Spangenberg. This ground was on the present site of Savannah, and here Spangenberg landed April 7, 1735. Later there came to this settlement John and Charles Wesley. Efforts were made to evangelize negro slaves and Indians of the state. Spangenberg soon removed to Pennsylvania to take the place of Bönisch. For a short time the settlement grew, but the Moravians refused to bear arms. There was danger of trouble with Spain, which owned the neighboring colony of Florida. Hence they found themselves in a difficult position. In 1740 George Whitefield made his second visit to Georgia, and offered to bring the remnant of the colony, which remained after it became depleted by death and emigration back to Europe, to Pennsylvania. Whitefield was plan-

ning to open a tract of five thousand acres at the Forks of the Delaware in order to found a school for negroes and a village for destitute English people. He called the tract Nazareth. It was little other than a vast wilderness inhabited by Indians. May 30, 1740, eleven Moravians arrived. Whitefield was unable financially to carry out his plans, and Spangenberg secured the Nazareth tract for the Moravian church. A settlement was started. December 21, Count Zinzendorf arrived, having come from Europe by way of New York and Philadelphia. On Christmas eve, in connection with the observance of the Christmas festival, Zinzendorf named the place Bethlehem.

At once interest in the work among the Indians became strong. Spangenberg's report to the authorities of the church in Europe called attention to the need of mission work in America. Among other things he said:

"Moreover there are the Indians, who do not willingly dwell near the Europeans; for them it may be that the hour of grace has sounded."[1]

This report, and the knowledge Zinzendorf gained from Conrad Weiser, led to the sending to America of Bishop Nitschmann with a colony of itinerants and the sending of Christian Henry Rauch to begin a mission among the Indians.

Rauch began his work in 1740 at Shekomeko, New York, not far from the eastern boundary of the state. The work grew and soon branched out to the Indian villages of Pachgatgoch, Wechquadnach, and Potatic in Connecticut. In four years sixty Indians were baptized in the Shekomeko mission. Among the workers of note were Mack, Buttner, Pyrlaus, Shawe, Bruce, Post and Powell, some of whom made dangerous journeys as far as the Mohawk Valley.

The early efforts of Zinzendorf himself in America were directed in two channels; one was to organize all the German Protestants of Pennsylvania into one evangelical body. To do this he set to work not as a Moravian

1 *The American Church History Series*, Vol. VIII, p. 445.

bishop but as a free servant of his Master. This plan was frustrated by the timely arrival in 1742 in Pennsylvania of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who gathered the Lutherans together and became the patriarch for the early Lutherans along the Atlantic Coast. The other channel into which Zinzendorf threw his efforts was in behalf of the Indians.

The second half of 1742 he devoted to three missionary tours among the Indians. The first tour was to the Indians at Minnisink, the Blue Mountains, the Aquanshicola, and the regions of the Upper Schuylkill. This journey began June 24 and ended August 2. The most important event of it was an interview with the chiefs of the Six Nations at the home of Conrad Weiser, the Indian agent in Berks County, Pennsylvania. The Indian leaders gave the Moravians permission to pass through the lands of the great Iroquois Confederation, and those of the Indians who were controlled by this body. At this meeting the chiefs are reported to have said to Zinzendorf:

> Brother, you have journeyed a long way from beyond the sea, in order to preach to the white people and the Indians. You did not know that we were here; we had no knowledge of your coming. The Great Spirit has brought us together. Come to our people, you shall be welcome, take this fathom of wampum, it is a token that our words are true.

The second tour made by Zinzendorf began August 10 and ended August 31. During this time he visited Shekomeko. The first convert had been baptized in February, 1741, Rauch having been at work there since 1740. August 22, Zinzendorf organized the congregation at Shekomeko with ten Christian Indians.

The third tour was to Shamokin, which was the most important Indian town in Pennsylvania, where Shikellimy the Oneida viceroy had his residence. He was accompanied on this journey by Conrad Weiser. From Weiser's home they took a straight course across the mountains to the junction of the North and the West Branches of the Susquehanna. They went as far up the

West Branch as Otstonwacken, an Indian village situated where Montoursville is now located, and from there across the mountains to Wyoming. On this tour they met Madame Montour, the famous woman of French descent, who left her name in the West Branch Valley. This journey covered the period from September 24 to November 9. Little was accomplished in a missionary way.

Shortly after his trip up the West Branch, Zinzendorf made a journey to the Wyoming Valley. It was his purpose to throw the efforts of the Moravians of Pennsylvania into a concerted effort to Christianize the Six Nations. The Iroquois Confederation had at this time considerable French influence exerted upon it. Consequently he felt the most successful efforts could be made through the vassals of the Six Nations. The Wyoming Valley was the place where he could best make his approach.

Zinzendorf was not the first white man to visit the valley, though he was no doubt the first one to leave an impression upon it. Stephen Brule, the French explorer, had passed through it on his tour of the Susquehanna Valley in 1615. Government agents on their way to Onondaga from Philadelphia had traversed it. The Palatines who came from the Mohawk Valley to Berks County in 1725 passed through it. David Brainerd was at Wapwallopen Oct. 5, 1744. Rev. John Sergeant, a congregationalist missionary who had been at work among the Indians at Stockbridge, Mass., visited Wyoming June 23, 1741. In a letter of that date Sergeant wrote:

"I am just returned from Susquehanna, where I have been to open the way for the propagation of the gospel among the Shawnees."[2]

He had no success and returned quite discouraged because the Indians refused to embrace Christianity. On June 7 he also preached to some Indians along the Delaware.

2 Quoted from pamphlet by Johnson, *Count Zinzendorf and the Moravian and Indian Occupancy of the Wyoming Valley, 1742-1763.*

When Zinzendorf visited the Wyoming Valley he found it occupied by a number of tribes. There were Delawares, Shawnees, Nanticokes, Mohigans, and Wanamese, all vassals of the Iroquois. They were virtually prisoners, not being permitted to move without the consent of their superiors. Wyoming was selected as their home by their victors because it lay on the great Iroquois highway north and south, which followed the Susquehanna River. Consequently it was easy to keep them in constant supervision. The Delawares came there at the orders of the Iroquois about 1742, following the trouble incident to the famous Walking Purchase of 1737. They had been ordered from the Forks of the Delaware either to Wyoming or Shamokin. Most went to the former place, though Brainerd found some at Shamokin two years later. They had villages at Wilkes-Barre, at Nescopeck, Tunkhannock and at Wyalusing. The Shawnees of the Valley came there very early. As early as 1728 there were about five hundred of them. Later the Six Nations moved them to the Ohio, and their empty cabins were occupied by another group of Shawnees who were brought north from Lancaster County. The leader of this group was Kakawatchie. He was in command when Zinzendorf arrived in 1742. The Shawnees had villages at Plymouth, Briar Creek, Fishing Creek, and at Blindtown, between Plymouth and Kingston.

The Nanticokes had come from Chesapeake Bay. They had a village where the town of Nanticoke now stands. Zeisberger says these Indians were the most averse to the Gospel, and in sorcery and the degradation of heathenism they had gone to the lowest depths. Very few of them were ever converted. Smallpox and drink worked havoc among their numbers.

The Mohegans had a village at Forty Fort. The Wanamese had a town two miles north of Wilkes-Barre on Jacob's Plains, which received its name from their chief.

Wyoming Valley had numerous Inhabitants until 1763 when the Delaware Chief Teedyuscung died at that place. Connecticut migration to the Valley began about that

time, and the Moravian Mission at Wyalusing was abandoned in 1772. From then on the Indian population of the Valley became very sparse, disappearing almost totally from the entire Susquehanna Valley.

In connection with the mission work of Zinzendorf we must speak of Shamokin and of Shikellimy. Shamokin was an important Indian town, the most important and strategic in the state of Pennsylvania because of the junction of the two branches of the Susquehanna at that point. It was the name given to the region where Sunbury now stands. When the Iroquois went south on raids to the Cherokee or Catawaba Country, they stopped at Shamokin for their last carousal before reaching Onondaga on their return home. This place was visited by Conrad Weiser in 1737. In 1746 Martin Mack was stationed there as a Moravian missionary. The Indians were anxious to have a blacksmith shop erected there for their own convenience. The colonial government, through the intercession of Weiser and Mack had one established there and agreed to maintain it for the Indians as long as they remained friendly to the English and did not yield to French overtures. The blacksmith shop was established in April, 1747. It continued to be in operation until 1755. Moravian missionaries were in charge of it during those years. They were Schmidt, Wesa, Kieffer and Hagen. The latter died soon after he arrived there. The smithy provided a place for the Indians to repair their fire-arms. Its establishment was a good political move, as it increased the friendship between the Indians and the Moravian missionaries. Missionary Grube who spent a large part of 1754 at Shamokin tells how on one occasion thirty warriors took possession of the blacksmith shop and for eight days had a drunken spree in it. Fort Augusta was built at Shamokin 1748.

A prominent figure associated with Moravian mission work at Shamokin was Shikellimy. He was an Oneida chief. About 1728 he was made the representative of the Six Nations in dealing with the provincial govern-

ment of Pennsylvania. About 1745 he was made the viceroy of the Six Nations and stationed at Shamokin to rule all their vassals in the Susquehanna Valley. He possessed great influence and power, always being friendly to the English, who sought his favor and were able to retain it. From 1728 to 1748 many treaties concerning the purchase of land were made between the Indians and the Province of Pennsylvania, but few were made at which Shikellimy was not present. He was of statesmanlike calibre and he helped to solve many delicate problems between the Indians and the whites. He and Zinzendorf and Conrad Weiser had many conferences in arranging political and religious matters of interest to Indians and settlers in Pennsylvania.

Meginnes says of him:

> Shikellimy was in some respects one of the most remarkable Aborigines of whom we have any account. As he possessed an executive mind and was recognized by his people as a man of more than ordinary ability, his counsel was eagerly sought by the government of the Six Nations; and as this section of their confederation was hard to govern on account of the various tribes inhabiting it, and the conflicting interests which had to be regulated, he was early designated as a leading sachem or viceregent. On account of his high standing and excellent judgment his influence was courted by the provincial authorities. So great was his love for truth and justice that he never violated his word nor condoned a crime. (Johnson, *op. cit.*).

Loskiel in his *History of Moravian Missions* (Part II, pp. 119-20), writes thus of Shikellimy:

> Being the first magistrate and head chief of all the Iroquois Indians living on the banks of the Susquehanna, as far as Onondaga, he thought it incumbent upon him to be very circumspect in his dealings with the white people. He mistrusted the Brethren at first, but upon discovering their sincerity became their firm and real friend. Being much engaged in political affairs, he had learned the art of concealing his sentiments and therefore never contradicted those who endeavored to prejudice his mind against the Missionaries, though he always suspected their motives. In the last years of his life he became less reserved, and received those brethren who came to Shamokin into his house. He assisted in building, and defended them against the insults of drunken Indians; being never addicted to drinking, because, as he ex-

pressed it, he never wished to become a fool. He had built his house upon pillars for safety, in which he always shut himself up when any drunken frolic was going on in the village. In this house Bishop Johannes de Watteville and his company visited and preached the gospel to him. It was then that the Lord opened his heart; he listened with great attention; and at last, with tears, respected the doctrine of a crucified Jesus, and received it in faith. During his visit to Bethlehem a remarkable change took place in his heart, which he could not conceal. He found comfort, peace and joy, by faith in his Redeemer, and the Brethren considered him as a candidate for baptism;but hearing that he had already been baptized by a Roman Catholic priest, in Canada, they only endeavored to impress his mind with a proper idea of this sacramental ordinance, upon which he destroyed a small idol, which he wore about his neck. After his return to Shamokin, the grace of God bestowed upon him was truly manifest, and his behavior was remarkably peaceable and contented. In this state of mind he was taken ill, was attended by Br. David Zeisberger and in his presence fell happily asleep in the Lord, in full assurance of obtaining eternal life through the merits of Jesus Christ.

The death of this famous chief occurred in 1748 or 1749. After Braddock's defeat in 1755 the entire section from Juniata to Shamokin was filled with parties of hostile Indians. In October of that year occurred the Penn's Creek Massacre in which fourteen persons were killed. The mission at Shamokin was then closed and the missionaries were removed to Bethlehem.

With this digression concerning Shamokin and Shikellimy we return to Zinzendorf's visit to Wyoming. Shikellimy accompanied him to the latter place. The Moravian leader was there joined by Jacob Kohn, Anton Seiffert and David Nitschman, who came from Bethlehem to Shamokin, thence up the North Branch of the Susquehanna. Kohn had just come from Europe and had letters from the mother country for Zinzendorf. They stayed three weeks at Wyoming near a Shawnee village near Plymouth. Little progress was made in these three weeks. The missionaries gave all the gifts within their power to the Indians, even the buckles and buttons of their clothing. Notwithstanding this the attitude of the Indians was threatening. They wanted larger presents. They claimed Zinzendorf had come to secure the silver in the

earth which they insisted could be found at Wyoming in great quantities. There never was any silver but there was much coal in that region. In spite of all the missionaries did the Indians were not to be reconciled to the Gospel. The escape of Zinzendorf from the snakes and the timely arrival of Conrad Weiser the government agent, deterred the Indians from killing him. The Mohegans were a bit more kindly disposed toward the Gospel but would not accept it without the consent of the Shawnees. At the close of the visit some of Zinzendorf's party returned to Bethlehem via Shamokin while others crossed the Pocono Mountains and went to Bethlehem by that route.

When Zinzendorf completed the three journeys in 1742 referred to above he laid plans for Moravian mission work among the Indians. He outlined a plan with five centers of operation. They were Bethlehem; the Wyoming Valley; Otstonwakin (Montoursville); Shekomeko, Duchess Co., N. Y.; and New England. His plan for Wyoming was never realized. But though his work there was not successful he opened the Valley of the Susquehanna to missionaries for the next twenty years. Every time missionaries went to Onondaga or to Wyalusing from 1765 to 1772 they went through Wyoming.

Though Zinzendorf made his visit in 1742 no attempt was made to found a station at Wyoming until 1744. In April of that year John Martin Mack and Christian Froelich went from Bethlehem to Wyoming via Lehigh Water Gap, then following the great Indian trail over Quakake, Buck and Nescopeck Mountains to Wapwallopen. They remained only about four days. In 1746 Spangenberg, Zeisberger and Schebosh made a trip to the Great Council at Onondaga to get permission to settle the Christian Indians of Schekomeko at Wyoming or Bethlehem. This resulted in the establishment of Gnadenhütten of which we shall learn later. The same year Spangenberg established a covenant with the Christian Indians of Wyoming who were mostly Mohegans. In 1747 after the establishment of the mission at Shamokin Zeisberger and Mack

explored both branches of the Susquehanna. About this time Zeisberger and Shikellimy had started to prepare an Iroquois dictionary. 1748 was the year of the Great Famine in the Susquehanna Valley. Zeisberger and Mack found smallpox was raging that summer in most Indian villages. In July they went to Gnadenhütten from Shamokin via Wyoming. At the latter place they found whole villages with no food but wild beans and the bark of trees. Many Indians died along both branches of the Susquehanna for lack of food. The same year Baron John de Watteville, a Moravian Bishop, accompanied by Mack, Zeisberger and Cammerhoff traveled from Bethlehem on a mission to the Indian county via Wyoming, whence they passed down the Susquehanna to Shamokin through Wapwallopen, Nescopeck and Skogari, the latter a Tutelo village of degenerate thieves and drinking Indians in Columbia County. Watteville tells of a chief near Wilkes-Barre who had five negro slaves, a negress and four children. The Indians regarded these slaves as inferior creatures. At Shamokin they met Shikellimy. Two months later this famous chief made the journey to Bethlehem, which is referred to above, after which he soon died.

In 1750 Zeisberger and Cammerhoff made a memorable journey to Onondaga and return, 1600 miles. On the way they stopped for eight days at Wyoming. They visited many Indian villages en route. Both had been previously adopted by the Indians. They established friendly relations with the Iroquois at the Great Council held in June. At this gathering the Nantocokes asked for permission to establish a smithy at Wyoming like the one at Shamokin. This was refused by the Iroquois leaders. Later, Post was resident missionary at Wyoming. During the next ten years we find Zeisberger and Christian Seidel along with other Moravian missionaries making frequent visits to Shamokin and Wyoming. The mission of Wyoming was abandoned in 1763.

MISSIONS AT GNADENHÜTTEN AND NAIN.

A very important Moravian missionary operation among the Indians of Pennsylvania was that of Gnadenhütten in what is now Carbon County. The first settlement in the county is said to have been made by Moravian missionaries in 1746. At Shekomeko, N. Y., near the Connecticut border, a station of considerable size had been established by the Moravians. The Christian Indians there and at Pachgatgoch, Conn., of the Mohegan nation were driven out of their settlements. The Moravian authorities brought them to Pennsylvania and established them near Bethlehem. Thinking it unwise to have a large Indian congregation near Bethlehem, the Mission authorities purchased two hundred acres of ground on the north side of Mahoning Creek, about one-half mile above its junction with the Lehigh River. Here they built an Indian settlement for the Christian Indians who came from the above named stations. They called it Gnadenhütten. Each Indian family had its own lot of ground and did its own housekeeping. The church stood in the valley, with the Indian houses on one side of the valley arranged in the form of a crescent on the higher ground. On the other side were the cemetery and the home for the missionary. The road to Wyoming and other Indian settlements passed through the town. This was a path called Warrior's Path which went over to Nescopeck Mountain to the famous Indian settlement on the Susquehanna. The missionaries tilled their own land, and each Indian family did some gardening on its own plot of ground.

August 18, 1746, the congregation partook of the first love feast in this location. This was a day of memorable interest in the history of the mission. The first missionaries were Martin Mack and Christian Rauch. Others took their place. Frequent changes were made in the personnel of the force. The authorities believed that a long continuing stay would produce too much attachment, and that short periods of service on the part of the missionaries would cause the Indians to fix their hope and

confidence on God rather than on man. Translations of several parts of the Scriptures were made into the Mohegan language for use in the station. Services were held morning and evening. Once each month the Lord's Supper was observed. The work prospered greatly.

September 1749 Bishop John de Watteville of the Moravian church went to Gnadenhütten and laid the foundation for a new and larger church. The one built in 1746 was now too small. Frequently the missionaries were forced to preach out of doors, because the crowds could not be accommodated in the church. About this time the mission was visited by David Brainerd and a few of his converts. The congregation now had about five hundred members and it continued to flourish until the troubles incident to the French and Indian War brought an end to its peaceful progress.

At this time the Indians along the frontier of the state were being courted by both the French and the English. On the Susquehanna were located various settlements of Delawares and Shawnees. Some of these, though living nearer to the English than to the French, were beginning to waver in their allegiance to the English. Their sympathies were with the French. As this feeling grew it became their object to persuade the Indians in missionary settlements to withdraw from them, so that white people in the vicinity might more easily be attacked. For a long time the Christian Indians absolutely refused to leave the mission and take up their residence on the Susquehanna.

Among those who had gone over to French influence was Teedyuscung, a Delaware Chief who was now living at Wyoming. In 1750 Teedyuscung had been baptized with the Christian name of Gideon by Bishop Cammerhoff at Gnadenhütten. The Delaware town of Nescopeck became the center of his operations. Along with him was associated a Mohegan Indian called Abraham, who had been among the first to be baptized by the Moravians. These two Indians were leaders in trying to induce the Indians to leave Gnadenhütten. April 1754, a party of

seventy left Gnadenhütten and moved to Wyoming. This was the first definite move in getting them out of the power of the Moravians, though the missionaries did all they could to keep them faithful. Zeisberger had visited Wyoming in 1753 on his way from Bethlehem to Onondaga, having gone via Shamokin. The same year Rev. Christian Seidel of Bethlehem visited Wyoming and was cordially received by Abraham.

Quite frequently after a part of the Gnadenhütten colony had moved to Wyoming, the latter place was visited by missionaries to hold the Indians true to their Christian profession. In 1754 Bernhard Adam Grube, who had learned the Delaware language and had prepared a harmony of the gospel for them visited Wyoming. The same year Carl Gottfried Rundt went from Gnadenhütten to Wyoming. He was cordially received there by Paxinosa, a Shawnee chief, holding services at one time with as many as thirty present, Paxinosa and his family being present at a baptismal service. Even after the French and Indian War had begun, Martin Mack made three visits to Wyoming in 1755. But in spite of all that could be done the influence at Wyoming was against the Moravian missions and those Indians who had moved were being turned against their Christian benefactors.

The Indians who remained at Gnadenhütten were Mohegans. They were joined by Christian Delawares from Meniolagomekah. By this time the land on the Mahoning Creek was impoverished. Consequently they moved to the north side of the Lehigh River. The old town of Gnadenhütten was abandoned. The houses were moved to this new site, where a church was built June 1754. The new village was called New Gnadenhütten and stood where Weissport now stands. The houses were so placed that all of the Mohegans lived on one side of the street and all the Delawares lived on the other side. The old farm lands were taken under the care of the Moravian Brethren at Bethlehem, and made a plantation for the Indians. The old chapel was converted into a dwelling

for the use of the brothers and sisters and the accommodation of the missionaries to pagan Indians.

The Indians who had come under the influence of the French were greatly incensed that any of their race should choose to remain at Gnadenhütten. It was determined that the Moravian Indians should suffer. Braddock's defeat in 1755 showed the Indians the weakness of the English defense and opened the entire frontier to whatever assaults the Indians might wish to make. The whole frontier was in terror. Every day new barbarities were committed. Many persons living near Gnadenhütten fled, leaving their homes behind them. But the Christian Indians decided to remain there, as they felt this was where Providence had placed them. They were very cautious, however, and omitted no details. The Christian Indians were advised to keep out of the woods and to buy no powder or shot because the white people feared every Indian as a potential enemy, and even the Moravian Indians might easily be mistaken for enemies and trouble be precipitated. The Gnadenhütten Indians gladly complied with all reasonable requests.

Nov. 24, 1755, as the missionaries were at supper the mission house was suddenly attacked and burned. Eleven of the occupants were killed. The Indians of the Gnadenhütten congregation who lived in the town, hearing the reports of the guns and seeing the flames of the burning mission house, fled to the woods. The entire town was burned to the ground. The Indians would have been willing to defend the place, but upon the advice of the surviving missionaries they made their way safely to Bethlehem. David Zeisberger who had just arrived from Bethlehem when the massacre began, hastily returned and secured the help of a body of English militia. They marched within five miles of the place, but feared to follow the Indians in the night.

After the French and Indians had retired, the remains of the victims of the assault were carefully gathered from the ruins and buried.

In 1788 a broad marble slab was placed on the hill near

Lehighton, a short distance from the hamlet. This slab marks the site of the old Moravian missionary town. It bears this inscription:

To the memory of Gottleib and Joanna Anders with their child Christiana, Martin and Susanna Nitschmann, Anna Catharine Senseman, John Gottermeyer, George Fabricius, Clerk; George Schweigert, John Frederick Lesly, and Martin Presser who lived here at Gnadenhütten unto the Lord and lost their lives in a surprise from Indian warriors, November 24th, 1755. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints—Psalm CXVI-15. (Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania*, p. 187).

Following the massacre Benjamin Franklin was sent in 1756 by the provincial government to build stockade forts along the Lehigh River. He built one opposite Gnadenhütten which he called Fort Allen, after William Allen, Chief Justice of the Province of Pennsylvania. For many years this place became the refuge against Indian raids.

The Moravians also had an Indian congregation at a place called Nain not far from Bethlehem. This mission congregation grew, and in April 1760 under Gottleib Senseman a part of the Nain Christian Indians were moved to Wechquetank, a new missionary village. This was about ten miles southwest of Gnadenhütten, "behind the Blue Mountains." The exact location of this place has been hard to determine. For some time a missionary named Brother Grabe was in charge here. When Pontiac's War broke out in 1763 these Indians feared the same fate Gnadenhütten had suffered. The Kittatinny Valley had many Scotch Irish settlers who were always hostile to the Indians. They regarded even the Moravian Indian villages as convenient hiding places for French Indians who tried to devastate the frontier. So strong was the hatred that the Wechquetank congregation had to flee to Nazareth and later to Philadelphia. In November 1763 the village of Wechquetank was burned.

MISSIONS AT WYALUSING AND SHESHEQUANNINK.

One of the largest missionary enterprises ever conducted among the Indians of Pennsylvania was that of Rev. Zeisberger among the Indians of Bradford County. As early as 1750 Bishop Cammerhoff and Rev. David Zeisberger, both of the Moravian church, passed up the Susquehanna on a visit to Onondaga. The largest Indian town in the region was Machwihilusing (Wyalusing) which was located on the Susquehanna. In this town lived an Indian leader named Papunhank. The settlement was inhabited by Indians of the Minsi clan of the Delawares. It contained about twenty families. The houses were of split logs, set upright, with roofs made of poles covered with bark. The town was far in advance of the average Indian settlement. Papunhank was somewhat of a reformer or a moralist. He had visited Philadelphia and had personally learned to know some of the Quakers. He had also visited Nain, a missionary settlement on the Lehigh River. Here he heard of Christianity. He was so impressed with it that the next year he took thirty-three of his people and his wife to Nain to learn of the new faith. He tried, but with no success, to have the Christian Indians of Nain to remove to the Susquehanna.

Christian Frederick Post on his way from the governor of Pennsylvania to the great Council at Onondaga stopped at Wyalusing over one night in May 1760. He preached the first sermon ever delivered thereabout from the text Luke 2:8-11. About the same time Job Chilliway and Tom Curtis, prominent and intelligent Indians, took up their abode at this place.

After a year or two Papunhank, because of his unsavory life, lost his moral leadership among the people. Steps were taken to invite a white teacher. Some wanted Quakers, some wanted Moravians. The parties were about equally divided. It was decided that the first teacher who should arrive should be accepted as the one the Great Spirit had meant for them.

It was at this time that John Woolman, spoken of on earlier pages, set out with Benjamin Parvin from Phila-

delphia for Wyalusing. The date was May 1760. He had met Wyalusing Indians in Philadelphia and had planned to remain there if he should be well received.

The same month Rev. David Zeisberger accompanied by an Indian named Anthony started for Wyalusing from Bethlehem. He and Woolman arrived about the same time. Egle's History of Pennsylvania says that they met each other on a mountain below Wilkes-Barre and ate a meal together, but that Zeisberger proceeded faster and arrived at his destination two days ahead of Woolman. In accordance with the previous agreement he was regarded as the teacher God had sent. Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania informs us that before he arrived Zeisberger was met by Job Chilliway who told him of the proceedings of the Indian council six days earlier, in which they discussed how they could get a white teacher. When Woolman arrived he was kindly received. He remained five days to help Zeisberger start the work, after which the Quaker returned home.

Zeisberger now inaugurated what was to become one of the largest missionary operations among the Indians of the state. He was made resident missionary at Wyalusing by the Moravian Mission Board at Bethlehem. He also set to work at the Indian town of Towandaemenk, located at the mouth of the Towanda Creek. This town had twelve or fourteen Delaware families. The first results of his labors were the conversion of Papunhank whom he baptized with the Christian name of John, and another Indian, an opponent of Papunhank who was baptized after him and called Peter.

About a month after Zeisberger arrived the Pontiac War broke out. This meant great disturbance all through the Indian country. The frontier was very unsafe. The Moravian Indians would take no part in the warfare. For safety they were removed to a settlement near Bethlehem, then to Province Island in the Delaware below Philadelphia. There Papaunhank and twenty of his people remained for seventeen months. A few of them died in the close confinement. When peace was made in 1764 Papunhank invited all the Christian Indians to his town

on the Susquehanna. In 1765 the party, led by Zeisberger and John Jacob Schmick, made the journey over the mountains. They left Bethlehem April 3, and on May 9, thirty-six days after they started, they arrived in their former community and built a new town two miles below Wyalusing. The party consisted of about eighty adults and about ninety children.

The new town was a unique place. It contained about thirteen Indian huts and forty frame houses, shingled and provided with chimneys and windows. Besides there was a house for the missionaries and a church. The church stood in the middle of the street. It was built of square pine logs, having glazed windows, a belfry, and a bell. It measured 32 by 20 feet, and the inside was adorned with a painting of the Nativity and one of the Agony in the Garden. These made their appeal to the child mind of the Indian. The town was regularly laid out. Each family had its own boat. Gardens surrounded the village. Each week the women swept the streets of the town in summer—and rubbish was taken to the river. Near the town were 250 acres of cleared ground in which corn was cultivated. This land was surrounded by two miles of fence. Corn patches were planted at intervals for a distance of two miles up the river. The town itself was enclosed by a post and rail fence. When the town was completed the usual Moravian regulations were put into effect. Order and peace prevailed. No rum was permitted to be carried to the town by the traders. A school house was erected near the church. Here adults and children learned to read in the Delaware and the German languages. Church services were held daily, morning and evening. The people were taught the Creed, the Ten Commandments, hymns and the Bible. The Sabbath and holy days were regularly observed. The Lord's Supper was regularly celebrated. Hymns were sung accompanied by a spinet made by Joshua, a Mohegan Indian. In 1766 the town was named Friedenshütten (Tents of Peace).

The town was prosperous, but frequently disturbed by

traders, who brought rum and sometimes taxed the hospitality of the natives. In 1767 a party of Tuscaroras stopped at Wyalusing on their migration northward. They came in the spring. In the autumn a remnant of the Nanticokes came and remained all winter to the great annoyance of the missionaries. The year 1767 saw an epidemic of smallpox among the natives. The same year a larger church was erected, the first one becoming too small. The mission station continued to prosper for several years until 1772. During these years Zeisberger made several journeys to the Indians along the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers.

Among the towns visited by the Moravian brethren of Friedenshütten was Sheshequannink which stood where the present town of Ulster, Bradford County, is located. It was a town of Delawares. Some of Brainerd's Indians from New Jersey had settled there. People from this town often came down to Wyalusing to services. They requested that mission work be established at Sheshequannink. A station was begun in 1769 under John Rothe who had been an assistant at Friedenshütten. A chapel and a house for the missionary were built. Pagan Indian settlements in the neighborhood greatly hindered the work. This place always was regarded as an appendage to Friedenshütten or Wyalusing, Rothe being the resident missionary. In 1772 the Sheshequannink mission had, besides the missionary's family, fifty Indians, of whom four were communicants, fifteen were baptized, and thirty-one were not baptized.

The missionaries at both places used every opportunity to win the Iroquois chieftains, whom they entertained lavishly as they passed through the towns. They tried to do all in their power to remove all misapprehensions the Indians might have. The latter looked with suspicion upon the surveying instruments used in the settlement, regarding them as strange contrivances, with which the white men robbed the Indians of their land. The paintings in the church and all religious observances

which came to their notice yeft a deep impression upon the various Indian leaders.

The mission was never very secure. When the Wyalusing work was begun permission was granted to the Moravians by Togahaju, a Cayuga chief. He wanted the mission near Cayuga, but Zeisberger and the leading Indians of the mission visited the chief and finally got permission to locate at Wyalusing. The chief is reported to have said:

> "Heretofore you have only sojourned at Wyalusing, I now set you down there firmly. I give you all the land from Tioga as far as a man can walk in two days. It is yours. No one shall disturb you. All other Indians shall remove if you desire it."

This grant was confirmed by the Great Council at Onondaga. The mission had peace until November, 1768, when by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix the Six Nations sold to the Colonial Government of Pennsylvania a large part of the western and northern sections of the state. The land on which the missions were located was sold from under the feet of the Christian Indians without their knowledge of the transaction. When the Fort Stanwix Treaty became known at Friedenshütten a deputation visited the Governor of Pennsylvania informing him of their settlement, civilization and the promise made to them by the Six Nations. They asked that their land be held in trust for them. This the Governor refused, but he promised that they should not be disturbed and that no surveyors should come within five miles of their settlements. These promises were not kept. White settlers were increasing. The Pennamite War was threatening at Wyoming. Troublesome demands were made of the Christians. They became greatly dissatisfied and it became evident they should have to look for a different location.

In September 1767 Zeisberger had left Friedenshütten to preach among the Indians of the Delaware nation on the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers. He started a mission in Forest County, and one near Newcastle, Pa., of which we shall hear later. Hearing of conditions at Wyalusing

he was commissioned to invite the Christian Indians on the Susquehanna to settle with those in the western part of the state. The Moravian Mission Board at Bethlehem sanctioned the plan. The invitations were declined until 1771 when the Christians at Wyalusing and Sheshequannink accepted, realizing that they could no longer maintain their congregations where they were. The summer of 1772 was fixed as the time for the exodus. While the congregations were in existence in Bradford County ninety-four adults and forty-five infants were baptized, seven couples married according to the Christian ceremony and forty-one died.

The exodus was a very remarkable event. June 6, 1772, the congregation at Wyalusing partook of the Lord's Supper for the last time, and on June 11, the last service was held in the church. That day 241 persons of all ages set out from Wyalusing and Sheshequannink, leaving homes, town, church, burial grounds behind them. They moved in two groups, one going overland from Wyalusing up Sugar Run, down Loyalsock Creek toward Great Island. This group was in charge of Ettwein. They had seventy oxen and an even greater number of horses. Thick forests had to be penetrated. Frequently it rained. In one part of the country they had to cross the Munsey Creek thirty-six times. The party that went by water was under the care of Rothe. This group was the larger. They carried with them their church bell, which was tolled for one and one half miles down the river, as far as they could see the church. The hardships of this group were many. A lodging place had to be found each night. Rapids in the river had to be negotiated. Measles broke out among the children. Drunken persons not infrequently molested them. They were able to pass down the North Branch to Shamokin and finally came to Great Island (Lock Haven) where they all met. The land travelers and the party under Rothe met there June 29th. They rested a few days and then went on to cross the mountains. Rattlesnakes, forest fires, storms, insects, made the traveling hard and

dangerous for man and beast. Several died on the journey, among them a cripple ten or eleven years old who was carried part of the way by his mother in a basket on her back. Sometimes they had to stay several days in one place to secure food. They depended largely on fish and game. Upwards of 150 deer were shot. July 20, they left the mountains and reached the Allegheny River. Canoes were built to transport the aged and infirm as well as the heavy baggage. Two days later they met John Heckewelder and some Indians from Friedenstadt in Beaver County. August 5, they arrived at their destination among their Christian brethren.

Thus ended the important Moravian mission work on the Susquehanna. In September, 1870, the Moravian Historical Society located the site of the town of Friedenshütten and the old burial ground. June 14 and 15, 1871, a monument was erected by the same society to mark this interesting spot.

THE MISSION AT GOSCHGOSCHUNK

This station was along the Allegheny River, which in the latter part of the eighteenth century was regarded as the upper port of the Ohio River. The French had made early explorations along this stream. About 1759 they were expelled. The next white man to visit the present counties of Forest and Venango was Rev. David Zeisberger, who came October 16, 1767.

Goschgoschunk was an Indian settlement of three villages. The middle one was on the eastern shore of the Allegheny River, near the mouth of the Tionesta Creek. Two miles further up stream was another village called Lawanukhannek, and four miles down stream was the third village. When Zeisberger arrived he came to the middle village. He was accompanied by two Indian guides, John Papunhank and Anthony, who had led him through the wilderness of Northern Pennsylvania from Wyalusing. The Senaca chief who had charge of the place received the Moravian preacher coldly, believing him to be a spy. Gradually he became interested in the

missionary, but warned him not to trust the natives. They were kindly received and entertained by an Indian who was a friend of one of the guides. But they soon discovered the warning of the chief to be the truth. Zeisberger preached the first night and the crowds came. It was a wild group, sorcerers, murderers, some lately returned from a massacre. The preacher was greatly shocked at their heathen and diabolical rites. Blasphemy, powwows, excesses, sorceries were prevalent. Later he wrote:

> Never yet did I see so clearly depicted in the faces of the Indians both the darkness of hell and the world subduing power of the gospel. I have never found such heathenism in any other part of the Indian country. Here Satan has his stronghold—here he sits on this throne. Here he is worshipped by true savages, and carries on his work in the hearts of the children of darkness.

An Indian preacher named Wangomen opposed Zeisberger and very strenuously resisted the new faith among his people. He instigated the jealousy of the people. Zeisberger feared being murdered. But the missionary did not cease his work. An old, blind chief by the name of Allemewi was convinced of the truth of Christianity and was baptized afterwards with the Christian name of Solomon. Wangomen was finally brought to the place where he ceased his opposition and joined the other Indians in inviting the missionaries to establish permanent work among them. After seven days Zeisberger returned to Friedenshütten and to Bethlehem to report his journey.

The next year he returned in the spring accompanied by Gottlob Senseman and several Moravian Christian Indian families from the Susquehanna to open a permanent work at Goschgoschunk. June 30, they built a block house. Corn was planted and a little hamlet of believing Indians sprang up apart from the rest of the settlement. Many Indians attended their services, and Loskiel says that it was curious to see so many of the audience with

their faces painted black and vermillion and heads decorated with clusters of feathers and fox-tails.

But opposition also grew. The missionaries were regarded as the fault of a failure of the corn crop, a shortage of game and a scarcity of berries and chestnuts. Some of the Indians were changing their way of life and these evils came upon the whole settlement because of the presence of the mission. An attempt was made on Zeisberger's life. In addition, the Great Council at Onondaga did not look with favor upon this new encroachment of white men into Indian country. Accordingly the missionaries left and went to the upper town of Lawanukhannek. Egle says this was only two miles further up stream; Loskiel says it was fifteen miles above the other settlement. Here they built a house and a chapel, the latter having on it a bell which was received from Bethlehem. Allemewi and other Indian believers took up their abode around the new mission. For two years the work was carried on with alternate success and failure. Trouble then arose between the Seneca Indians and others in these parts. Warriors frequently annoyed the mission. The Christian Indians did not wish to become involved in the difficulties; consequently they decided to accept an invitation to move to Kaskaskünk farther west in the state. April 17, 1770, the congregation broke up. Zeisberger and the converts set out in sixteen canoes, went down the river to Fort Pitt, then up the Ohio River to the Beaver River, to their new home in the neighborhood of New Castle.

This mission lasted only three years. Conditions were not favorable to its rapid growth. Some Indians were converted. Over two thousand deer were slain. Zeisberger spoke of oil springs, which he says the Indians used for toothache and rheumatism. This is interesting because later this region was embraced in the great oil field of Pennsylvania. Before leaving the Goschgoschunk and Lawanukhannek stations he wrote: "For ten months, I have now lived between these two towns of

godless and malicious savages and my preservations is wonderful."

When the Christians left to accept the invitation to live at Kaskaskünk, Wangomen invited the converts to a farewell council, at which he proposed that they should part as friends. He apologized for the two attempts that his people had made to take Zeisberger's life. Zeisberger forgave the people for the opposition and the injury to the Christian cause of which they had been guilty.

THE MISSION AT KASKASKÜNK

An Indian community in the extreme western end of Pennsylvania was the scene of Moravian missionary efforts. It was called Kaskaskünk, county seat of Lawrence County. It was a settlement of Delawares, Senecas and Shawnees. As the white people encroached upon Indian territory the Delawares moved westward to get away from them. They left names like Neshannock (Neshanick) and Mahoning in the western part of the state as well as in the eastern. Loskiel informs us that in this Indian community there presided a chief called Pakanke and that he had associated with him an orator and warrior of note named Glikkikan. The latter had heard of the arrival of Zeisberger and his associates at Lawanukhannek on the Allegheny River in Forest County. He determined to go and refute the Moravian preaching which was being spread at that place. He was said to have been instructed in Catholicism by priests in Canada, though he may have been only an Indian teacher.

When he arrived at Lawanukhannek his courage failed him and he waited to hear what the Moravians might say. Zeisberger was absent at the time. The Christian Indian Anthony invited Glikkikan to eat with him and then he clearly set forth the Christian views of God, creation, the fall, revelation, and the death and resurrection of Christ. Anthony with his presentation astonished the native chiefs who had gathered to see the Christian defeated. Glikkikan was disarmed by the statement of belief. He had nothing to say against the Moravian teaching. He attended the daily meetings for a short

time and then related a dream he had had some time previous to this[3]

In his dream he came to a place where in a large room many Indians were gathered. They were plainly dressed and had no rings in their noses. In their midst was a short white man, who upon entering gave the Indians a book. They replied that they could not read, whereupon the white man said that after a while if they remained with him they could learn to read. This dream he interpreted to mean that there were white men somewhere who knew the way to God, because in a dream he had seen one. Zeisberger being a short white man, and the conditions at the mission corresponding so closely with his dream, he was so astonished that he was willing to become a convert. When he returned to his home he advised his own people to go and hear the Moravians. Through him the chiefs at Kaskaskünk invited the missionaries to come to them. We have seen above when the invitation was accepted and how the journey was made from Lawanukhannek to Kaskaskünk. Glikkikan, like Saul of Tarsus, went to destroy Christianity and returned a believer.

May 3, 1770, the Moravian Christian Indians arrived at their new home. Pakanke gave them a fine piece of ground, large enough for one hundred families. They built a town where Moravia stands, about five miles below New Castle, near the confluence of the Mahoning and the Shanango.[4] They built a new village, because the first site proved to be unhealthy. A church was also erected, in addition to substantial homes. Pakanke and the neighboring chiefs received them very cordially. But as it became evident that their manner of life was so different from that of the rest of the Indians and that their faith was so far removed from Indian belief, a great amount of displeasure developed which soon grew to unpleasant proportions. Glikkikan left his people and went to live with the Christians. This added fuel to the grow-

3 Loskiel, *History of Moravian Missions*, Part III, p. 46.
4 Loskiel, *op. cit.*, Part III, p. 56.

ing opposition. Pakanke reproached his former friends in words like these:

> Do you expect to get a white skin? Not one of your feet will turn white. Were you not a brave man and a good counsellor? And now you despise all this. You think you have found something better. Wait, you will soon find out how much you have been deceived.

Glikkikan replied: "You are right, I have gone over to them, and with them I will live and die." Pakanke remained unfriendly to the settlement which had been named Friedenstadt, for about a year, in spite of the friendly efforts of Colonel Croghan to effect a reconciliation.[5]

Then an event happened that broke down his opposition. July 14, 1770, David Zeisberger was adopted as a member of the Monsey Clan of the Delawares. This gave him many rights and privileges, and greatly enhanced his influence for good. The adoption of Zeisberger broke down Pakanke's opposition, after which he visited the mission, became its ardent friend and urged his people to attend its services and learn of Jesus.

July 23, 1770, a new village was built on the west side of the Beaver Creek. This became a prosperous Christian town, with regular Moravian regulations for its government. Up to this time Zeiseberger and Gottlob Sensemen had charge of the work. In October, 1770, John George Yungman and his wife arrived from Bethlehem. Sensemen then returned to Bethlehem. Youngman spoke the Delaware language fluently. This was a great help. A revival followed. Many were converted. Glikkikan and many more were baptized at Christmas. By January, 1771, there were no less than seventy-three professed Christians in the settlement. June 20 of that year a log church was dedicated. There now were one hundred members in the congregation.

Difficulties, however, were continually arising. Indian sorcerers and medicine men stirred up opposition. Traders brought rum. The heathen became drunk and

5 Loskiel, *op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 57-58.

brought much disorder into the place, sometimes doing violence to the Christians.

In the meantime leaving Yungman in charge, Zeisberger had gone to Ohio and opened mission work on the Tuscarawas River in that state. By 1773 the opposition among Pakanke's tribe had become so strong that the Christians felt it to be unsafe to remain any longer at Friedenstadt. In the spring of that year they leveled their church to the ground and migrated to Gnadenhütten and Schonbrun, Ohio, the former place near New Philadelphia, Ohio. A few Indians still remained as late as 1795, but the work of the mission was over. Glikkikan remained an ardent Christian until he was killed at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, March 8, 1782, when ninety Christians and six heathen Indians were massacred by Colonel Williamson in an act of cruelty that was altogether unwarranted.

Moravian missionaries did far more to Christianize the Indians of Pennsylvania in colonial times than those of any other church. The challenge of evangelizing the red men called forth a long list of heroes of the cross. Among them we find the names of Heckewelder, Zinzendorf, Spangenberg, Nitschmann, Rauch, Mack, Post, Watteville, Cammerhoff, Kieffer, Ettwein, Roth and Sensemann. In the work among the Indians of Pennsylvania or indeed in all America, there is no name that shines with more glory than that of David Zeisberger. He was the foremost Protestant missionary to the American Indians. From 1745 to 1807 he gave all his time and strength to this work. Schweinitz in the preface to his book *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger* says of him:

> As a missionary and an Indian linguist he is the peer of John Eliot; while he far outranks him as a herald of the Gospel and a forerunner of the race that has since possessed the land in which he labored. As regards the frequency of his journeys among the Indians and the privations which he endured in his efforts to convert them, no one is his equal except the Jesuit Fathers of the seventeenth century.

None of his settlements survive him, and the immediate results were small, yet his devotion was unsurpassed. Much of the life of this apostle to the Indians was spent in Pennsylvania, though perhaps his largest work was accomplished in Ohio.

It is a sad fact that mission work among the Indians was greatly hindered and finally abandoned because of interference on the part of the white people themselves. As long as Quaker influence was dominant in the state, there was good will between Indians and the whites. The Quakers and the Germans insisted on treating the Indians with fairness. The hardy Scotch-Irish pioneers pushed westward and usually settled in land that was not duly purchased from the Indians. It was their belief that as Joshua was instructed to drive out the inhabitants of the Promised Land, so they who came with a higher civilization were to drive out and exterminate the Indians, the latter having no rights which they were bound to respect. Of course this precipitated border warfare. Christian Indians not wishing to become embroiled in such differences, frequently moved their settlements westward, so as to get out of the disturbed areas. We have seen how stations were abandoned and the Indians retreated westward before the advance of the white man. Many white people saw no difference between a Christian Indian and one who was pagan, and consequently massacred both indiscriminately.

In fairness, however, to the frontier settlers, it must be said that the colonial government was at times very slow to provide for their protection from the depredations of the Indians. While the Christian Indians were usually perfectly harmless, they were charged with harboring and assisting members of their own race when the latter made raids against white settlers. Such charges were frequently made during the French and Indian and the Pontiac Wars. When the government did nothing to check the assaults of hostile Indians, settlers took their protection into their own hands. The Quaker principle of nonresistance brought them into as great disfavor with the

pioneers as the Indians themselves. This led to such scenes of destruction as that of Gnadenhütten, Ohio, and Wechquetank, Pa., and such disturbances as the Paxton Insurrection, which for a time threatened Philadelphia.

The Indians were small in number, and it was no doubt inevitable that they should give way entirely before the great wave of white immigration that was to make America a white rather than a red man's country.

V BY THE CATHOLICS

We have seen that work was done among Pennsylvania Indians by the Lutherans, the Quakers, the Scotch Propagation Society (Brainerd) and the Moravians. Among the early explorers of Western Pennsylvania were the French. One would expect that some missionary work would have been done by them. The Jesuits did a vast amount of work to the north and the west. Parkman's *The Jesuits in North America* gives a full account of their work. John G. Shea in *History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854* makes no mention of any work in Pennsylvania. He, however, describes a large mission among the Iroquois by the French Catholics. The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas were all visited. From 1668 to 1678 among these nations over 2200 were baptized. We observed that Shikellimy, an Oneida chief, and the foremost Indian of Pennsylvania, had been baptized a Catholic as a child in New York State. In 1749 a Frenchman named Celoron de Bienville made an expedition down the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers. A priest, Father Bonnecämps, attended the expedition and is said to have been the first person to perform an act of Christian worship in Western Pennsylvania. Fifty-five Indians of various tribes accompanied the military forces. It was their purpose to win the Indians of the western section of the state to the support of the French. While that part of Pennsylvania was under French influence, until the close of the French and Indian War, in a small way religious work was no doubt done by French Catholics. Catholic missions, however, were of no great consequence.

VI CONCLUSION

It is now approximately three hundred years since the white man first came to Pennsylvania. The Indian has gone. It was inevitable that the white man with his more highly developed civilization and culture should force the red man out of his vast undeveloped territory. There seem to have been two forces at work in the period of colonization, one a humanitarian and religious purpose, which moved its possessors to try to evangelize the Indians, the other a commercial and selfish purpose which moved its adherents to take possession of the land and drive the Indians out. Eventually the second force won the day. But when the Indian was fairly treated he reciprocated with honorable conduct toward the white man. The Swedes, the Quakers, and the Moravians who showed a friendly and sympathetic interest in the Indian were not molested by him.

The struggle between the French and the English for supremacy in North America comes within the scope of the period under consideration. It was a friend of the Moravian missionaries, Conrad Weiser, the Indian Agent, who by his friendship for the Indians, restrained the powerful Iroquois Confederacy from falling upon our English settlements and exterminating them. Had it been otherwise, American history might have been written with a French instead of an English background.

An effort has been made in this paper to trace the work of those who tried to give the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the Indians of Pennsylvania. As long as there were Indians in the state there were those who tried consistently to bring them into the kingdom. The Swedish efforts were praiseworthy, though not extensive. The translation of Luther's Catechism by Campanius will always remain as the earliest book put into the language of the aborigines. It stands as an eloquent testimony to the friendly relations between the Swedes and the Indians, and the sincerity of the former in their purpose to help their red neighbors.

The Quakers were never able to accomplish much in the

evangelization of the Indians. There were few tangible results of their work. However, by their fair treatment of the Indians, they caused the latter to respect the white man. There was little in the Quaker form of worship to appeal to the primitive mind of the Indian, and few adopted the Quaker form of Christianity.

For consecration of purpose, devotion, and self-sacrifice, few men have excelled David Brainerd. His influence as stated above was far more effective than the immediate results of his work. Very little of his missionary work had any permanency. His short life and the great expanse of territory that he covered with primitive methods of travel precluded the possibility of remaining at any one place for any length of time.

The Moravian efforts in Pennsylvania were the most successful. They were a by-product of the Pietistic movement, which did so much for modern missions. They called forth a long list of brave souls who dared every possible danger to carry the Gospel of Christ along the streams and through the forests of Pennsylvania to the wigwam of the Indian. By their work many Indians were led to lay aside the tomahawk and to become followers of the Prince of Peace. When we consider persons like Glikkikan and Shikellimy and those who constituted the congregation at Wyalusing we may not doubt the sincerity of those who professed conversion.

The methods of the missionaries to the Indians varied. In the early part of the colonial period each man for the most part worked alone, and seemed to have his own method of operation. Campanius working for the Lutheran Church of Sweden, and Brainerd working for the Scotch Propagation Society used the catechism and verbal instruction. The Moravians had more highly developed methods. They had a large force of missionaries. A Board of Missions located at Bethlehem directed the field operations. Christian Indians were gathered into towns as at Gnadenhütten and at Friedenshütten (Wyalusing). These places were made to resemble settlements of white people. Moravian customs and Euro-

pean civilization were given the communities of Christian Indians. Steps were taken to keep the influence of pagan Indians and unscrupulous white men away from these towns. As the frontier of civilization moved forward and touched these towns we have seen how they were moved from time to time so as to afford larger opportunity for the development of the Indian Christians. Whether the Indians of Pennsylvania would have been able to thrive under the culture and customs of the white man is a problem which cannot now be answered. A study of this kind causes one to believe that with fairer treatment on the part of the white man, many more Indians would have been receptive to the Gospel of Christ. One is led to sympathize with the Indians, and to honor and admire the flaming heralds of the Cross, who at great sacrifice gave them the knowledge of Christ, but whose toil today is only a memory.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

OLD TESTAMENT

Cardinal Ideas of Jeremiah. By Charles E. Jefferson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. 220 pages. $2.00.

The busy pastor of Broadway Tabernacle, New York, here presents us with a companion piece to *Cardinal Ideas of Isaiah.* The book contains ten sermons that were preached in Broadway Tabernacle during the winter and spring of 1928. It was felt that they might prove to be a source of stimulation to ministers and Bible school teachers. The author believes rightly that the prophets of the Old Testament have a message for the men of today, because, as he says, their writings "to the preacher are full of suggestion and inspiration and to the layman they furnish instruction and guidance which can be found nowhere else."

Both books mentioned grew out of a feeling that the prophets are largely neglected at the present time. It is of course true that they cannot be understood without explanation, and most ministers are not inclined to dig deep enough to get any real profit from the study of these books. It is certainly an anomaly that people would not be willing to have such books as those of Isaiah or Jeremiah cut out of the Bibles they are using, and yet do not do anything worth while about them. To such men the Bible does not *live* but is a dead book. Dr. Jefferson wants to make the book live.

One is aware in reading that the author belongs to the school that is described under the name of *religionsgeschichtliche.* He is not antagonistically an adherent of this view-point; but he feels that his studies have given him something that was worth while and he wants to share it. He tells amusingly how in his younger years it was customary to spend valuable time on the study of dates, but that no one seemed to be at all concerned to notice any ideas contained in these oldtime prophets. It is to the credit of this critical school that it really has made the writings of the Old Testament stand out not only in greater clearness than ever before, but that it has shown the qualities of human interest that pervade these books.

There was a time when criticism seemed inclined only to tear down. Then came a period of disillusionment, when these men saw that their labors were not getting them anywhere. There was after all, something about that old Word, which exerted a mysterious power over men and affected their lives. What was that thing which the dissecting knife had not discovered? Surely there must be some other way of approach than had been tried

before? So for some time past, we have been treated to books which tried to find the soul of the man in the utterances of the prophet. His background had to be studied; the times in which he lived came in for their share. There were other things that had escaped the investigator before. We learned in our student days that Amos was a farmer, and not even a man of particular ability. Today he stands forth a magnificent figure, as bold and daring at Bethel as Luther was at Worms. We see back of the man a great age and find in his utterances something that had to do with international relationships. And finally how about that princely statesman Isaiah?

A few years ago, Volz of the same school, published a book on Jeremiah. How he made the man stand out from the pages of his own book! How he showed him to have spoken words that meant something real in his own day and equally so for all time. A little later we had the rare pleasure of a simliar investigation into the life, times and letters of Jeremiah by George Adam Smith. There is no longer any excuse for preachers to be in ignorance about Jeremiah at least. Dr. Jefferson shows what can be done with this great prophet in the pulpit.

Ten sermons on Jeremiah are not very much, so far as the great amount of writings are concerned that this prophet has given to posterity; but these sermons may cause other preachers to go on along the same lines. And that is what Dr. Jefferson hopes that his book may do. He adds a hundred questions by way of supplement to his book. We read them over. They are a very fine intelligence test for preachers and theological students. How many would pass the test?

If it is out of date to call Amos a rude peasant, it is at present just as untimely to call Jeremiah the weeping prophet. These sermons did go to some length to prove that Jeremiah has a greater claim to attention than merely his tears. It is even suggested that some great men who have done much for the world that is inspiring and uplifting have been known to weep more than Jeremiah! In a way, we do not care so much about this question; but we were concerned to find such ideas brought forward as pointed to a deep insight into human conduct and, more than that, a deep insight into the ways of God. That after all, is the important factor. What is the thing that is of ever recurrent influence throughout the ages in these immortal pages of the Bible? What is there in them to affect the lives of men as they do? Is it not after all, the Spirit of the Living God that breathes in them?

To have pointed out that Jeremiah brought forward this great truth that religion is an affair of the heart; another, that God holds the individual responsible, that the Infinite cannot be defeated, that loyalty to God is above loyalty to the government,—to have pointed this out, means to have read the pages of Jeremiah

more attentively than most people read them. And if these sermons may encourage other preachers to seek their inspiration in this and other books of the Bible, they will accomplish a great deal more than could ever be done by many sermons that find their way to the market and from thence into pastors' "studies."

C. T. BENZE

A History of the Jewish People. By Max L. Margolis and Alexander Marx. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1928. 823 pages and 13 full page maps. $4.00.

This is a single volume history of the Jewish people from the earliest beginnings to the events of the most recent years. The authors are well known in learned circles is this country and abroad. Dr. Margolis is professor at Dropsie College. He has served professorships in various colleges and universities, and is at the same time member of numerous learned societies in this country and in Europe, the author of many works in Semitic subjects and the chairman of the Bible Translation for the Jewish Publication Society. Dr. Marx is professor of history and librarian in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City and also known as a writer. Besides, he is a member of the Executive Committee of the United Synagogue.

As may be concluded from the preceding, both authors are men who have brought to the preparation of their work the most eminent qualifications. The writing was done by Prof. Margolis, a large part of it during his stay in Palestine. Prof. Marx contributed especially valuable material on the history of the Talmudic and medieval periods.

To those who are acquainted with the subject here presented, it goes without saying that the field is an enormous one and that much condensation has been necessary in the choice of material and the narration of the facts. The history of the Jews is so closely interwoven with the course of general history and has had so many contacts with the history of the leading nations of the past and present that one cannot tell the story of the one without at the same time discussing that of the other.

Jewish history naturally groups itself about great centers in history and this book therefore aims to present the long and varied history of the Jewish people from this angle. Beginning with the year 2000 before the Christian era, the first center is naturally Palestine. Here we start with Abraham and run on to about 425 A. D., when under the Roman emperors to about the time of Constantine, the last of the Patricians went down to extinction. Then follows the time of the eastern center up to the extinction of the Gaonite. Then we meet with the Jews in western Europe beginning with 139 B. C. to the expulsion from Spain about 1492. From

then on new centers emerge and we see the Jews among the Humanists in Germany and Italy, then in Poland and Russia up to the time of the French Revolution. From there on we may speak of the Age of Emancipation. This period runs up to the present time, closing with the effects of the World War, the Russian Revolution and the magnificent work done by the Jews in the reconstruction of unhappy Russia.

This is only a bare outline of what the reader may expect: and the book fulfills all expectations. It carries one along at a breathless pace, and figures that are known perhaps only to Jews or to scholars who have a special fondness for this field, stand out with prominence and assume life again under the touch of the learned pens that have here been at work.

Jews have had much to do with the world's progress; and if we begin with the life of the great ancestor Abraham, the great leader Moses, the inspired prophets, the Psalmists and the great men mentioned in the Bible, we have there alone a list of names for which the entire world must ever be grateful. It is not so generally known what a large part the Jews have had since the great calamity which befell them as a nation when they were scattered throughout all the world, in contributions to the culture, the learning, the general progress of the world. Still less is known to Gentiles except to scholars, what great names are found on the pages of Jewish history in all these centuries; but the facts cannot be doubted. Our authors have here narrated an undying history with great simplicity and modesty. The temptation to boast might have been strong, but like that great Apostle, who was a Jew of the Jews, Paul of Tarsus, they seem to have reflected on the futility of boasting.

Another matter must not be forgotten in considering the history of the Jews, and that is, that they have ever been a persecuted people, although not constantly for the same reasons. It would have been an easy matter for Jewish historians to dip their pens in venom and recite their story with bitterness as they recalled the bloodshed to which members of their race have been subjected and the tears that have fallen from Jewish eyes ever since the dawn of persecution, but we find that they have refrained and that their history is most calm and unbiassed.

The authors have had access to sources that are usually closed to the non-Jewish writer, and by virtue of their special training in the fields of Semitic research, have been able to give much to their readers that is of intrinsic worth. On the other hand, the Jew is also indebted to the Gentile for bringing to light treasures old and new from the storehouses of their learning. The contributions of Gentile writers and especially the great work done by many Christian scholars, not only on Biblical subjects but also on matters that are of greater importance to the Jew, have resulted

in works that no Jewish writer would think of passing by. These have been fully considered and used by the present writers and full recognition has been given to all the great men who have had a share in bringing to the light matters of history and other items of general interest.

The outstanding thing to be said about the book is that it presents in a comparatively small compass the great facts of Jewish history. It is the first great history of the Jews to be written and published in this country, and is worthy of being placed alongside of all that has been written on this subject in other countries. To the American reader it is a more useful book than most of the others. For him and for the student it was written, not for the specialist in this field. The general reader and the student will find an inexhaustible supply of what they want to know in these pages. It should prove to them, as it did to the reviewer, a source of great interest and of undeniable profit.

C. T. Benze

NEW TESTAMENT

The Heights of Christian Blessedness. A Study of the Beatitudes. By Doremus A. Hayes. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1928. 393 pages. $2.50.

There is little disposition at the present day to underestimate the practical importance of the ethical teaching of our Lord. The Sermon on the Mount has come now to be generally regarded as a realistic description of the kind of life which is to prevail in the Kingdom of God, and no hesitance is felt in applying its demands practically to every phase of human conduct and every kind of human relationship.

This is wholesome and gives promise of much good, provided the religious background of Jesus' ethical teaching is not lost sight of. For as a code of ethics, apart from religious considerations, the Sermon on the Mount has little value. Unless it is seen in its relation to repentance and faith its demands will remain forever unattainable. Indeed, they will not even appear reasonable. They are demands which can be made only of a life that has been converted and has thus come into a new relationship with God.

For this reason a frank and sympathetic study of the Beatitudes is timely. In them the religious background becomes evident. Only as one realizes his dependence upon God, acknowledges and mourns for his sins, appreciates the need and value of mercy, hungers and thirsts after righteousness, in short, strives after the inward and godward quality of life which the Beatitudes depict, can the Christian life be realized and the heights of Christian blessedness scaled.

This is the spirit of Dr. Hayes' book. It is a practical study of

the Beatitudes, simple in style, on the whole evangelical in tone, and comprehensive in scope. In a brief foreword the author states that "this book attempts to give a literalistic, idealistic,pacifistic, Quaker, Mennonite, Christian interpretation of the Beatitudes." What he apparently meant by this was that each of these kinds of interpretations has some validity and needs to be taken account of in order that one may gain a comprehensive and true view of the scope of the Beatitudes. At any rate, the author has gathered innumerable quotations from men in all walks of life and representing practically every period of church history, in order to illustrate the meaning of the different Beatitudes.

Six chapters are devoted to the discussion of the seventh Beatitude. The author justifies this "undue proportion of space" to the blessing which is promised the peacemakers "because that beatitude brings us face to face with the greatest practical issue of the present day, the abolition of war or the end of our Western or world civilization." Perhaps it would have been better if these chapters had been printed separately. Incorporated in a book on the Beatitudes they represent an attitude which is at once too broad and too narrow; too broad in that it presumes that all men, irrespective of their religious condition, are ready to scale the heights of universal peace, and too narrow in that it fails to recognize the function of the peacemaker in the many other relationships of life in which reconciliation through self-sacrificing love needs to be practiced.

The book has value for the lay reader. It will be especially valuable for the preacher who desires to preach fresh and stimulating sermons on the Beatitudes.

E. E. FISCHER

Greek Thought in the New Testament. By George H. Gilbert. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. 216 pages. $1.75.

Another discussion of that important subject, the influence of Hellenism upon the life and thought of nascent Christianity. The book is decidedly interesting, lucid and frank, as such books should be, and will in the reading repay him who breaks it and follows its argument. It opens with what is on the whole an excellent presentation of the contacts between Greeks and Jews as they developed in the days after Alexander the Great, and passes on to a treatment of the Greek environment of the Apostlic church. There is but one comment to make on this part of the volume, namely that the author still regards the Sadducees as an essentially hellenistic, rather than conservatively traditionalistic faction among the Jews, and that he still views the bulk of the Mystery Religions from the angle of the Eleusinian rites. The ensuing chapter on

Greek thought in the writings of Paul covers the usual range of subject matter traditionally dealt with in this connection. It adopts an individual note, particularly in the analysis of the Pauline Christology, where the reviewer finds occasion to disagree with the author on the influences that produced the transformation in the interpretation of Christ in the days between Paul and the primitive community.

In chapter four Dr. Gilbert undertakes the discussion of that most difficult subject, Greek thought in the Synoptic Gospels. He labors with the conception of the supernatural birth, the walking on the water, the rending of the veil, the visible ascension, but, one feels, entirely in vain. The cause of the disaster at this point lies not in the necessary primacy of these conceptions in Christian tradition, but rather in the fact that the best parallels are Oriental rather than Western. It is here that a fundamental weakness in Dr. Gilbert's approach becomes obvious. It is no longer possible to regard Hellenistic civilization as a cultural unit controlled by Western ideas. In the question of Hellenism and Christianity we have in particular, since the work of Reitzenstein, passed into a new phase of discussion in which it is recognized that the dominant forces of religious transformations, in Christianity as well as in the syncretistic cults, are Oriental-Hellenistic rather than Western-Hellenistic. The same realization has impressed itself upon those studying Hellenistic art since the days of Strygowski's *Orient oder Rom*. While it is thus entirely possible to seek and find genuinely Western ideas in Paul, and, as the author proceeds to show, in Hebrews and second Peter, it is futile to look for them in such products of the truly Oriental milieu as the Gospels. What is more, the effort to disentangle the Gospel of Jesus from the interpretation and speculation by which it was affected in the first century can be assured of real success only when we take additional cognizance of Oriental influence in all of the New Testament writings.

CARL H. KRAELING

The Moffatt New Testament Commentary

Is called to the attention of the "everyman" for whom it is being written: everyman who wishes to sit where the first Christians sat, "to feel the impetus and inspiration of the Christian faith as it dawned upon the minds of the communities in the first century, and thereby to realize more vividly how new and lasting is the message which prompted the New Testament writings to take shape as they did." It is being written for "the Greekless" in response to the demand for a commentary on the Moffatt New Testament translation, and is precisely the thing that needs to be done in order to bring the results of recent technical studies within

reach of a wider public. There is an increasing need for something more substantial than the flood of superficial popularizations which are the plague of the religious world and for something more applicable to the needs of the twentieth century than the obsolete material which is often nevertheless the best obtainable. The Moffatt Commentary will do much to supply this need. The following volumes have appeared:

The Gospel of Matthew. By T. H. Robinson, M.A., D.D.
The General Epistles. By James Moffatt, D.D.
John. By G. H. C. Macgregor, M.A., Glasgow.
Philippians. By J. H. Michael, M.A., Victoria College, Toronto.

In preparation are *Luke*, by W. Manson, D.D., New College, Edinburgh, and *Ephesians*, by E. F. Scott, D.D., Union Theological Seminary, New York. Other volumes are to follow. The series is published by Doubleday, Doran and Company, Garden City, New York, and the price is $3.50 per volume.

R. T. Stamm

The Strack-Billerbeck Commentary

Projected more than a score of years ago, is now complete in four volumes, Vol. IV being in two parts, bound separately. Part One contains the following excursuses which are referred to in Vols. I-III:

The Sermon on the Mount; The Command of Circumcision (Lk. 1:59); The Passover (Mt. 26:17ff); Ancient Jewish Fasting (Mt. 6:16ff); The Ancient Jewish Synagogue: the Institution (Mt. 4:23); The Ancient Jewish Synagogue: the Service (Lk. 4:16ff); The Shema'; The Shemoneh 'Esreh (The Eighteen Prayers); Tephillin (Phylacteries, Mt. 23:5); Zizith (Tassels, Mt. 23:5); Excommunication from the Synagogue (Lk. 6:22 and Jn. 16:2); Pharisees and Sadducees in Ancient Jewish Literature (Mt. 3:7); Attitude of the Ancient Synagogue toward the non-Jewish World (Jn. 18:28; Acts 10:28; Eph. 2:14ff); The Canon of the Old Testament and its Inspiration (2 Tim. 3:16; 2 Pet. 1:21); Psalm 110 in Ancient Rabbinical Literature (Mt. 22:43ff and Heb. 5:6); The Good and Evil Impulse (Gal. 5:16ff); The Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard and the Teaching of the Ancient Synagogue on Rewards (Mt. 20:1-16); Ancient Jewish Demonology; Private Almsgiving among the Ancient Jews (Mt. 6:2-4); Ancient Jewish Charity (Mt. 25:35ff).

Part Two contains: An Ancient Jewish Banquet (Lk. 14:1); The Tithes of the Products of the Soil (Mt. 23:33; Lk. 11:42; Heb. 7:5); Slavery among the Ancient Jews (Lk. 12:47); Leprosy and Lepers (Mt. 8:2); The Prophet Elijah after his Translation (Mt. 11:14; 17:3; 27:47, 49); This World, the Days of the Messiah, and

the World to Come (Mt. 12:32); Signs and Calculation of the Days of the Messiah (Mt. 24:3ff); Sheol, Gehenna, and Gan Eden; The Resurrection of the Dead, Universal or Limited? (Jn. 5:28); Pictures of the Judgment in Ancient Jewish Literature (Mt. 25:31ff); Indices.

The mere listing of the contents of Vol. IV is sufficient to indicate the wealth of material at hand for the interpreter of the New Testament. Its interest and importance may be further illustrated by the following extract in translation from pages 3-6, which deals with the soteriological system of the ancient Synagogue:

A saying of R. Akiba (d. ca. 135 A. D.) is: "Beloved are Israel (in the sight of God); for they are called children of God. As a particular mark of this love it was revealed to them that they are called children of God, as it is said, 'Ye are the children of Jehovah your God' (Deut. 14:1). Beloved are Israel; for the precious instrument with which the world was created has been given to them, as it says (Prov. 4:2) 'For I give you good doctrine; forsake ye not my law' " (Aboth 3:14).

By the power of divine love, therefore, the Israelites are children of God. As such they have received the most precious divine gift, the Torah, through which the world itself was created. As the Torah gave life to the whole world, so it meant life to Israel in particular. It was given to Israel only in order that by means of it they might acquire merit and reward. To this end the Torah must be studied—studied before all else. Then from this study the observance of Torah follows automatically.

Here the question which arises is not merely whether man, as his nature is now constituted, is capable of a formal, intelligent choice of the good, but whether by fulfilling the Torah he can bring his choice of the good to a completely successful issue. The ancient Synagogue answered this question in the affirmative. It had to, because the whole system of Pharisaic soteriology stood or fell with man's ability to fulfill the will of God as revealed in the Torah; and it could do so, because it was not hindered by its anthropology.

With respect to the origin of the human soul the Rabbis did not think in terms of traducianism, but in terms of creationism throughout. Some of them held the doctrine of the pre-existence of souls. Consequently they arrived at the principle that man receives from the hand of his Creator a pure and holy soul, not burdened with the hereditary sin and guilt consequent upon the fall of the first human pair. And yet they did not deny that death was the lot of all mankind on account of the sin of Adam.

To be sure, the pure soul with its good impulse was opposed to the bodily senses with their evil impulse, which incites to sin and strives to lead to disobedience to the will of God. But at the beginning this evil impulse is weak, so that the good impulse can

keep it in restraint. Moreover, God had put the Torah, a means of constant victory over the evil impulse, into the hands of Israel. Given such anthropological conceptions, it is not surprising that the ancient Synagogue was thoroughly convinced that man has complete moral freedom and power to fulfill completely all the commands of the Torah.

The Israelite did not lack opportunities to fulfill the commandments. Step by step, from the cradle to the grave, the Torah with its directions accompanied him, so that there was no one in Israel who might not find himself in a position to exhibit daily the fulfillment of a hundred commandments. Even "the empty" (the 'am-ha-aretz) were, in spite of their transgressions, as full of commandments as the pomegranate was of seeds.

Every fulfillment of a commandment earned a merit for the Israelite in the sight of God. On the other hand, every transgression brought guilt upon him before God. Both the fulfillment and its merit and the transgression and its guilt were recorded in the heavenly record book. Thus the Israelite had an account with God. At any time the relative total number and value of merits and guilt expressed the righteousness of a man before God. If his balance was on the side of merit, God looked upon him as righteous; if his transgressions (guilt for sins) outweighed his merits, he was considered a godless or wicked man; when the scales were evenly balanced he was mediocre (indifferent). Everything was judged according to the number of deeds or works.

Especially in times of threatened danger and in moments when man in some way has the eye of God turned upon him, is a man's standing with respect to righteousness determined. This is always the case on New Year's, the annual judgment day. During his life on earth no man is permitted to look into the status of his account with God. For this reason even the righteous man, while on earth, has no assurance of salvation: his account may change at any moment. The whole judgment on a man can be determined by the balance of a single credit on either side. Consequently the pious man is advised always to consider himself half righteous and half wicked. If then he fulfills a commandment, happy is he, for he has inclined the balance on the side of merit.

For the last time, and finally, a man's account is balanced in the hour of death. If he has a balance of merits, he inherits Gan Eden; if the balance is on the side of transgressions, he inherits Gehenna. Upon him whose balance is even God has mercy: from the scale of transgression he removes an obligation, so that the balance is on the scale of merit. One thus favored is permitted to enter Gan Eden immediately without having to suffer the purifying fire of Gehenna. This was the interpretation of the school of Hillel; the school of Shammai of course did not recognize this alleviation for the neutral.

Accordingly, everything depends upon one's making the difference between his merits and faults as great and as ample as possible. This can be done in two ways: first by increasing merit, and second by diminishing guilt.

1. The increase of merit is man's peculiar task. It is accomplished by the accumulation of fulfillments of commandments, and by the performance of good works. To the latter belong almsgiving; deeds of loving kindness such as furnishing the poor with food and clothing, entertaining guests and escorting them when they depart, bringing up the orphan, supporting scholars, freeing prisoners, providing doweries for poverty stricken brides, visiting the sick, comforting the mourners and participating in wedding processions and funerals; and a series of good works for which there is no inclusive term, but among which are reckoned in the first instance the study of Torah, honor of parents, charitable judgments upon men, making peace between married couples and between enemies, and concentration in prayer. These good works belong also to the commandments in so far as they are based on the law; but on the other hand they go beyond the prescribed commandments in that the law fixes no definitely prescribed measure of them, so that it is proper to distinguish them from the "commandments." In addition to obedience to all these commandments the Israelite had a sure means of laying up a great treasure of merits; and to further supplement his own merits he might fall back upon the merits of the Fathers.

2. The decrease of guilt is achieved through atonement, which blots out sin, and with it also its guilt. This atonement is partly the work of man and partly the work of God. Man atones for sin and guilt by repentance, fasting and prayer; God makes atonement through the offerings prescribed in the law, through the Day of Atonement, through the sufferings which he brings upon man, and finally through man's death. Accordingly, the old Jewish religion is entirely a religion of self-redemption; for a Redeemer-Saviour who dies for the sin of the world it has no place.

The reader will compare with this the statement of G. F. Moore, Judaism (Cambridge, 1927), Vol. II, p. 95: "'A lot in the World to Come' is not wages earned by works, but is bestowed by God in pure goodness upon the members of his chosen people, as 'eternal life' in Christianity is bestowed on the individuals whom he has chosen, or on the members of the church. If the one is grace, so is the other."

The increasing use of such works as those of Moore and Strack-Billerbeck will clear up much current misunderstanding of the nature of Judaism and of its relation to Christianity. The publisher of latter is C. H. Beck, München; the full title is *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch.* Von Hermann L. Strack und Paul Billerbeck. Band I: *Das Evangelium*

nach Markus, Lukas und Johannes und die Apostelgeschichte, 1924; III. *Die Briefe des Neuen Testaments und die Offenbarung Johannis,* 1926; IV: *Exkurse zu einzelnen Stellen des Neuen Testaments,* 1928. 1055, 867, 857, 1323 pages.

R. T. STAMM

Die vorchristliche und früchristliche Zeit des Paulus. By Dr. Ernst Barnikol. Kiel: Mühlau Verlag, 1929. 94 pages.

This brochure, the manuscript of which once served the author as a dissertation, and which is now printed as the first publication of a series of *Forschungen zur Entstehung des Urchistentums, des Neuen Testaments und der Kirche* projected by him, is intended and said to provide a firm foundation for the correct interpretation of Paul and to deliver Pauline studies from the prejudices that have produced the "canonical Paul," the "lutheranized Paul" and the "dialectical Paul" of historians past and present. To anyone who could perform this service we should all be duly grateful, for there is nothing that we need to guard against more than prejudice. We hesitate to say that Barnikol, though his premise of taking the letters of Paul as the supreme authority and correcting Acts by them is undeniably the right one, has helped us very far along the road toward the unprejudiced interpretation of the great apostle.

What Barnikol by a series of microscopic anaylses of some dozen verses of Galatians actually produces as the elements of the picture of the early days of Paul's life may be summarized in the following sentences: 1) In his life as a Jew Paul was missionary propagandist. 2) He belonged to that group of Pharisaic activists otherwise known as Zelots. 3) As a missionary and zelot he had a definite hatred of Christianity, polemized against it but never actually persecuted Christians "unto death." 4) He never worked against the Christians in Judea or Jerusalem, confining his efforts rather to the districts between the two Caesareas. 5) It was in this territory and not before Damascus that he was converted. 6) His journey to Arabia and his return to Damascus as undertaken from the scene of his conversion are one and the same thing, the mention of Arabia serving merely to locate Damascus in a larger way. 7) The fact that his journey to Arabia-Damascus is called a "return" shows that Damascus was the scene of his earlier missionary labors as a Jew, and the city which played the greatest part in determining his world outlook.

The first of these items may go unchallenged since it represents nothing inherently new or incorrect. The second is open to objection since the *zelotes* of Gal. 1:14 is not used absolutely but with the objective genitive "of the traditions of my fathers" which limits its force, and since the *genos* of the same verse is usually employed of associations determined by birth rather than by choice as Barnikol would have us believe in translating it *Genossenschaft.*

The attempt to show that Paul exaggerates when he speaks of persecuting Christians in Gal. 1:13 fails because Paul had every reason not to go into details in the context and because I Cor. 15:9 reiterates the fact of the persecution. Item number four meets the demands of the critical analysis of the account of Stephen's martyrdom, and of Gal. 1:22, but it is by no means certain that the latter passage need be taken as literally as Barnikol does; similarly as Gal. 1:16 does not necessarily imply that Paul was not baptized (at Damascus) immediately subsequent to his conversion. The identification of the journey to Arabia with the return to Damascus seems to make the mention of Arabia entirely futile, Damascus being a city of such prominence in antiquity. To make Damascus the scene of Paul's labors as a Jewish missionary and the district between the Caesareas the sphere of his antichristian polemic is to exclude the probability of one or both of the propositions. Working as a missionary, Paul would cope with Christianity where and when it affected his operations, and not in a territory where his influence and standing had not been established. To assert without further evidence that Damascus rather than Tarsus is the city which most influenced Paul is a rather small way of discounting Böhlig. Perhaps Tarsus is not the only city that influenced the apostle, but until Barnikol has given us a work that will rate with Böhlig's *Die Geisteskultur von Tarsos* (1913), we are not in a position to go even this far in agreeing with him.

C. H. KRAELING

Grundriss der neutestamentlichen Theologie. 132 pages.
Grundriss der Geschichte des Lebens Jesu. 82 pages.
Grundriss der Geschichte des apostolischen Zeitalters. 74 pages.
Grundriss der Einleitung in das Neue Testament. 120 pages.
By Theodore Zahn. Leipzig: Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928.

Here is a striking illustration of the triumph of real scholarship over time. The writer remembers how years ago his mother, who happened to see a volume bearing Zahn's name lying on his desk, told him of her recollections of "Der Kleine Zahn," as he called on occasion at her father's home in Goettingen. At the time of those reminiscences both were past three score years and ten. It was natural to expect that the productivity of the scholar had ceased, but since then the two volumes on the Apocalypse have appeared and now the outlines of former university lectures have been published from the note books of former students. Rarely indeed is it permitted for a man to pass ninety years and still to see vitality marking the scientific literature he has produced.

These outlines are undoubtedly worthy of preservation and they will be exceedingly useful to a wider circle than those to whom the

lectures were originally delivered. Of course there are some things in which not all will agree. When it comes to eschatological questions there will be a large dissent, and in various minor questions there is room for disagreement as to conclusions, even by those who would never presume to dispute the facts that Zahn's overwhelming scholarship has established. But the assent will far outweigh the dissent.

No one can read these little books without being struck by the calm discrimination, the sound scholarship, and the judicial common sense of the opinions he formulates. We think, for example, of the sober objectivity of his statements concerning the expression "the Son of Man," which are a most refreshing relief after all the nonsense that has appeared on that subject during the past generation, or of his emphasis on objective facts as against the pseudo-psychologies of theoretical theological dreamers (*Nttheol.* pp. 19 f. and p. 2).

Quite apart from the intrinsic value of these outlines and their convenient form, they are invaluable to the young theologian in giving a wide yet thorough view of the fields they cover. Perhaps one of the greatest needs of the present time is an intelligent understanding of just these subjects, even by those who are engaged in very different studies.

JOHN C. MATTES

Das Comma Johanneum. Ein nachgelassenes Werk. By D. Eduard Riggenbach. Gütersloh: E. Bertelsmann, 1928. 43 pages.

Eduard Riggenbach, at the time of his death, October 4, 1927, was engaged in the preliminary work for a commentary on the Epistles of St. John, which was to have been a part of the great series issued by Theo. Zahn. His death necessitated the placing of this work, which will mark the completion of the Zahn Commentary, into other hands. One little section of Riggenbach's work, a dissertation on the passage concerning the three witnesses, was fortunately completed, and it has been issued as one of the *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, Vol. 31, Heft 4. While there has been no doubt in the learned world for a long time that the passage in question is an interpolation, and no fresh proof is needed on that question, the dissertation of Riggenbach is a valuable and learned presentation of the history of this passage, and, at the same time, both a fascinating picture of the manner in which corruptions creep in and the way that sound textual criticism can detect and eliminate such intrusions.

JOHN C. MATTES

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

The Interpretation of Religion. By John Baille, M.A. (Edin.), D.Lit (Edin.), Professor of Systematic Theology in Emmanuel College, Toronto. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929. xv + 477 pages. $4.00.

The author is already known by his briefer work on *The Roots of Religion in the Human Soul.* Nor is this newer volume, though much more critical and comprehensive, altogether unrelated to the former work. That gives a sectional view of religion, whereas here the author attempts a comprehensive view and especially an interpretation of it. He calls this new work, *An Introductory Study of Theological Principles.* We are informed in a footnote (p. 87) that his teacher in Theology was Wilhelm Herrmann. Even without this information, one could have inferred it from his view of the various theories of religion which are here made to culminate in Kant-Ritschl-Hermann (Part II, Chapters I-V). While following the Ritschlian School, however, the author is far from doing so slavishly. He is critical of it as of other schools, and the reader is made to feel that he is following a guide who has thought through the problems of religion and has come to conclusions of his own.

Along with all other studies of religion, this study impresses one with the overwhelming evidence gleaned from a survey of the ages that religion claims for itself a permanent place in human life. Such a universal phenomenon, the author insists, can not be interpreted from the outside. Justice can be done to it only as it is interpreted by the religious mind. When thus interpreted, the most obvious fact is that it cannot exist or maintain itself without the assurance of the existence of God. Can this conviction be validated by man's best thinking? In other words, is there a scientific ground for it?

In answering this question, the traditional arguments for the existence of God—the Onotological, the Cosmological and the Teleological—are passed under review, and they are regarded as failing chiefly because they attempt to prove God from a non-religious standpoint. The romanticists, beginning with Schliermacher, are criticized, though with more respect, because they make their appeal too exclusively to the emotional or non-rational in man. The same may be said of the treatment of the numinous by Rudolf Otto. As over against all these, the author rests his case on the sense of obligation, the moral imperative, the sphere of values.

He proceeds from that which man knows *ought to be* to that which *is.* His definition of religion accordingly is, a moral trust in reality (p. 318), an assurance that what ought to be, really is. The basis for this trust is "simply the truth that there is nothing

of which man is more certain than his primary moral values. Loyalty and love and honor, truthfulness and purity and unselfishness—there is no knowledge of which I am surer (and perhaps no other knowledge of which I am in the last resort so sure) than that these things are infinitely well worth seeking and that there is laid upon me an absolute obligation to seek them" (p. 342).

We possess, therefore, in our moral consciousness, a firm standing-ground from which we can hope to establish the verities of religion. "What faith, when squarely interrogated, seems centrally to insist upon is that in our consciousness of duty, or of ultimate values, there is contained an authentic intimation of the nature of the system to which we belong; and hence the only proper apologetic for religion is that which sets out the logic of this insistence.... If I am right in feeling that it is absolutely demanded of me that I be pure in heart, and just and honorable in all my dealings, then can this mean less than that reality demands these things of me? And if reality demands these things of me, then reality must be interested in moral value; it must have a stake in the moral issue; it must be on the side of the good and against the unworthy and the evil. But that is to say that it is moral Being itself, not indifferent to moral distinctions, but, on the contrary, supremely sensitive to them, and really caring whether good or evil prevails. The ultimate reality must thus be One Who loves the Good" (p. 352).

Having by this line of argument reached a conclusion regarding the certainty of the character of God, the author proceeds to deal with man's discovery of God. Progress in discovering him is dependent on progress along lines of ethical appreciation. The author admits the necessity of revelation. Were there no revelation, there could be no discovery. God is always a self-revealing God but man's discovery of him is progressive and is dependent chiefly on man's ethical development. In Christ the discovery by man and the revelation by God—the human and the divine—perfectly meet and find their completion. That Christ is divine and human, God and Man, is the church's statement of this truth.

The author thus brings us to the threshold of Christian theology. Granting the premises, the conclusion follows logically. If however the premises are disputed, if our ethics are mere conveniences of the present social order, or if, after the manner of Hindu philosophy, we are under illusions not only in our thinking but also in our sense of obligation, then as a matter of course, the moral argument would not be any more conclusive than the other traditional arguments which the author rejects. The same kind of an assumption that makes our moral values to be grounded in God, also compels us to admit that our knowledge is grounded in a Supreme Intelligence. Religion is the response of our whole

selves to the Whole—and that because man is made in the image of God.

We would not, however, give the impression that this is a criticism of the moral argument so ably presented in this book. It is only a criticism of the position held by the author that this is the *only* really cogent argument.

Not among the least of the merits of this discussion is the clearness of the style which makes it a real pleasure to read it. This is in striking contrast to not a few books that are written on the philosophy of religion. In this respect it is a model of what such a discussion ought to be. If it does for others what it did for the reviewer, it will help them to hold more firmly the certainty of the things that we believe. We heartily recommend the book.

JOHN ABERLY

Moral Adveture. By Canon Streeter. New York: The Macmillan Company. 132 pages. $1.25.

This is a reprint of Canon Streeter's contribution to a book by various authors called *Adventure.* The reason for publishing these essays in separate book form is the interest which has been shown in the peculiar kind of adventure with which Canon Streeter deals, namely, Moral Adventure, more particularly in the field of sex-relations.

That there should be a call for a book of this kind is in itself a commentary on the times. It seems to justify Canon Streeter's claim that the old morality which was based on religious taboos has broken down, and that there is need, therefore, for a new orientation, in order that morality may once more be established upon a secure foundation.

The author takes the ground that ethics, if it is to be ranked as a science, must be scientific in its method. When new conditions arise or new facts are discovered, the science of ethics must deal with them frankly and fairly and not seek to maintain old positions simply because they are venerable or represent the established sanctions of religion. Unless they can be justified at the bar of human reason in the light of all the knowledge available, it is useless to attempt to maintain them. He therefore re-examines in detail the requirements of the traditional Christian code with respect to sex-relations, to discover whether they can with reason be maintained in the light of modern conditions.

The conclusions to which he comes are what might have been expected. In no essential does he depart from the traditional attitude but finds in this attitude the only reasonable safeguard against moral chaos. However, we wonder whether the rational appeal in itself is sufficient to meet the needs of the modern situation. Sin is never rational, and yet men will continue to sin. We

agree that a religion of fear—fear of consequences now and hereafter—exercises little authority over the modrn conscience. Yet it is a perversion of Christianity to regard it as a religion of fear. The Christian religion is positive in its effects, not negative. It creates a love for the true, the good and the beautiful. It instills regard for the highest good in one's self as well as in others. It teaches one to respect the sanctity of the body and the worth of personality in others. These are the great motives in moral living, especially with respect to sex-relations, and we are unwilling to admit that they are no longer effective, but must be supplanted by a utilitarianism grounded upon the requirements of an enlightened self-interest.

Canon Streeter, of course, would admit all this. His purpose is really to make it evident that the Christian moral code requires nothing that is at variance with the demands of true self-interest. Nevertheless, we believe that the best approach will continue to be through the affections rather than through the reason. When conduct requires heroic self-control or the subordination of the carnal to the spiritual self, not self-interest, however enlightened, but only the spiritualization of the whole of life can furnish an adequate moral motive power.

The value of the book lies in the point of contact which it establishes with the advanced thought of some of the youth of our day. In view of the trend to regard the Christian code as antiquated and ill-fitted to meet the requirements of this modern age, the book will be found very helpful and timely. The discussions are exceedingly frank but they are pitched on a high plane. They carry one to the point from which it becomes easy to pass on to the higher and more spiritual truth. The book is most heartily recommended as a valuable contribution to the ethics of sex.

E. E. FISCHER

Morality in the Making. By Roy E. Whitney. New York: The Macmillan Company. 167 pages. $1.50.

The author is a minister who is now serving in the capacity of personnel director of a large industrial plant, where he is called upon daily to deal with human nature in its manifold expression. His book aims to set forth the principles upon which can be built up "a technique for effecting moral changes in ourselves and others." The method is psychological and analytical. It traces our standards, motives, desires, influences, etc., back to their sources, showing how they arise, why they manifest themselves as they do, and by what they are controlled. The whole book moves within the realm of the human and the material. An impression as we read led us to examine the index. Neither "God" nor "Christ" nor "the Bible" are found there. Apparently, as far as

the author is concerned, religion plays no part in the making of morality.

As a psychological study of man as he is by nature and as he may be affected by forces that move entirely within the realm of the natural the book presents an interesting array of facts. It is popular in style, full of apt illustrations, and arranged systematically for study. A Christian would feel compelled to supplement it materially before he could find it useful. Perhaps he might also find something in this book to supplement his Christian view of man. One cannot know too much about the human personality, if one is really desirous to be of help, and a psychological dissection of ourselves and others may throw real light occasionally on a difficult subject.

E. E. FISCHER

CHURCH HISTORY

The Hymns of Saint Hilary of Poitiers in the Codex Aretinus. By Walter N. Myers, Ph.D. Philadelphia, 1928. 82 pages and 4 plates.

Here we have a critical edition of the three hymns that remain today as the only probable remnants of the poetical works of the father of Latin hymnody in the Christian church. As a critical edition Dr. Myers' publication meets the high standards set by Feder in the *Cor. Scr. Lat.*, vol. 6, 4 (1916), and helps us over some of the rough spots that were left in this earlier work. We are particularly indebted to the author for his copious, intelligent and intelligible (the two are not always identical, especially in German editions) notes, which cover the field of literary association, meter and grammar, and for the simple, lucid translation. Seminaries and schools giving courses in ecclesiastical Latin should find this publication useful as a help in introducing the student to early hymnody.

C. H. KRAELING

Kalvinismus und Luthertum in Zeitalter der Orthodoxie, I. By Hans Leube. Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928. x + 402 pages.

After the misrepresentations of Lutheranism, especially of the so-called period of orthodoxy, that were so long current, and which were due not only to the bitter polemics of the period in question but also to the prejudiced historical writings of Plank and Heppe, a newer and more objective writing of history is beginning to reproduce the past in a truer perspective. Much was corrected in the various monographs of Heinrich Schmidt, Callinich, Dickhoff, Tholock and others but it has remained for the past few decades to

view the whole subject in a more comprehensive way. First came the great work of Tschackert, *Die Enstehung der lutherischen und der reformierten Kirchenlehre.* From a different viewpoint the theological situation was reviewed by Otto Ritschl in his *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus.* A preliminary study of Leube's defended the old orthodox theologians against the charge that they were indifferent to the practical evils of the church life of their day. In his present work, of which the first volume has appeared and the second is promised within a year, he investigates very fully, on its purely literary side, the great battle for the possession of Protestant Germany that took place between the original Lutheranism and an invading Calvinism. The subtitle of Vol. I is "The Struggle for Supremacy in Protestant Germany."

Leube believes that we can often understand the differences between rival faiths better in their irenics than in their polemics; that differences become more apparent through the resulting examination of each faith than in its theological warfare. He is more than fair to the Reformed in his determination to be objective, but in spite of all, the picture is one that leaves a very clear impression of several facts on the reader's mind.

One is that of the intrusive and aggressive nature of Calvinism that does not hesitate to use either trickery or force, as the occasion seems more favorable for either, in its attempts to supplant Lutheranism.

The second impression is of the virulence of some of the polemics. We have gotten into the habit of apologizing for the language of some of the old Lutheran fathers, who, especially under the provocation of the trickery of Crypto-Calvinism, used somewhat strong language. We see here that the aggression was rather from the other side, and some wonderful catalogues of abuse heaped on the Lutherans are here preserved.

But the thing that is most conspicuous is the duplicity that claimed adherence to the Augsburg Confession while openly attacking some of its teachings and the lack of candor in the union propositions which only had in view, as their final goal, the Calvinising of Lutheranism. It was always taken for granted that union meant the triumph of Calvinism, and that the Lutherans were very wrong in objecting to such intrusion or in being suspicious of such proposals. Just one example out of many will serve as an illustration.

In 1585 the theologians of the Palatinate issued a "Treuherzige Vermahnung." It begins with endearing terms addressed to the "Dear Brothers." Almost immediately there follows a defence of the Reformed custom of the breaking of bread in the Communion, though they profess not to condemn those who do otherwise. But they defended the use of force in imposing it on the churches of the Palatinate and Anhalt, while they condemned the Lutheran

theologians of Darmstadt who disapproved such forcible measures. They say to the Lutheran theologians, "Would to God that all would soon become pious and each would tolerate the other with patience." So the Lutheran theologians are accused of intolerance and a lack of brotherly love because they opposed the forcible introduction of Calvinism into Lutheran churches! Furthermore to show how unjust the Lutherans are, they contend that the two confessions are agreed in the fundamentals. But immediately there follows a defense of the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and a very emphatic condemnation of Luther's interpretation of the words of institution. Narrow and unbrotherly—because they refused to be Calvinized; a perfect union and Christian fellowship—on the basis of the Reformed teaching. This sounds almost like the naive proposials of the twentieth century.

The final purpose of all the unionistic movements of the past is the same, and this book is a vindication of the suspicion with which all good Lutherans have regarded unionism. The experiences of history have made any other attitude impossible. It would be most profitable if this newer literature could be more widely read and were accessible in English. Here we have the clear verdicts of history; and if men do not learn from history they will not learn from anything.

JOHN C. MATTES

John Wesley Among the Scientists. By Frank W. Collier. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1928. 351 pages. $2.00.

This new study of John Wesley, the great religious leader and founder of Methodism, offers to the public a body of material with which his admirers generally are not so familiar. It presents in lucid style the work of Wesley in the field of science. It answers the criticism that he was hostile to science and sets forth the charm that physical science had for him as well as his knowledge of the scientists and science of his day. The author declares it his purpose "to let John Wesley reveal himself as an ardent disciple of the physical scientists of his day."

This is done in thirteen chapters which show the interest Wesley had in physical science, his conception of the field, his survey of the field, his scientific spirit and method, etc. Wesley's writings are presented by analyses and his fundamental ideas by quotations from his scientific works. The nature of his work is illustrated by contrasting his views with those of later scientists. In this manner points of agreement or disagreement are clearly set forth. Wesley's real views are guarded by showing the meaning of certain terminology in his day in comparison with its meaning today. The amount of scientific writing done in his "leisure" time by this busy preacher and organizer will no doubt prove surpris-

ing to most readers. As these writings are allowed to speak for themselves they show Wesley in advance of some of the members of the Royal Society of his day. His "Survey" and other works show that Wesley's aim in his scientific work was to present an appraisal of the science of that day that he might thus serve his generation. Yet religion remained "the all dominating factor in his life."

"So far was physical science from disturbing Wesley's religious beliefs, fundamental theological principles, or his faith in the Bible as containing the truth of God, that it actually confirmed those beliefs and principles, and strengthened his faith in the Bible. The net result of the twenty-one years of his leisure time spent in making and revising his survey of the natural sciences of his day is that he can testify that he could account for the wonderful works of nature only by tracing 'their being, dependence, and government, unto thee, the First Cause of all. And by this tracing of things to their original I was led by a demonstrative conviction that there is a God who is the great cause, both of their being and their motions; yea, that there is but one God; that he is most powerful, most wise, knowing all things, supporting all things. Upon these convictions I was strengthened in the belief of the Holy Word, which had so great a congruity with these truths.'"

The author has done a real service in presenting this little known, but extensive work of Wesley in the scientific field. There may be those who will not agree with all of the indications of possible agreement by Wesley with present day science, but in every case the suggestions are based upon his own words. The fact remains that Wesley had a deep sympathy for and interest in the physical science of his day. And this presentation of Wesley's work for science should prove of service to both religion and science.

JOHN B. MOOSE

The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World. By Edward Caldwell Moore. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Sixth Impression, 1927. 358 pages. $2.25.

Dr. Moore has done justice fully to the great subject under discussion. There are two parts: I. *General Outline* and II. *History of the Christian Movement With Indications of the Present Situation in Different Lands.* Each chapter is clearly outlined in the opening pages of the section. Because of the clear-cut divisions, and because of the facts which have been substantiated from many valuable sources, the book is recommended as a very necessary and helpful course of study for mission study groups, and for theological seminaries.

In spite of the many invaluable sources suggested on pages 327-350, I found missing from the references suggested for the chapter on India, the two volumes written by E. Lord, 1813, entitled *A Compendious History of the Principal Protestant Missions*, published in Boston by Samuel T. Armstrong. The statement is made that Plütschau made the Tamil translation of the New Testament. As far as references are available, Ziegenbalg, who was a linguist of the highest type, made the first New Testament Translation in the Tamil language. Later it was re-edited by Schultz. The author says nothing about the great Missionary Swartz's relationship to the S. P. C. K. from 1766 onwards. He was a chaplain under the British company, but he seems to have occupied that position only until 1788, or the year when he began work in Tanjore. In discussing Africa, more space should have been given to Livingstone. As one gazes upon the slab which marks the resting place of David A. Livingstone in Westminster Abbey, the inscription, "Missionary, Traveler, Philanthropist," fills his heart with profound feeling. In the words of Blaike, "The heart of David Livingstone was laid under the Mvala tree in Ilala, and his bones in Westminister Abbey; but his spirit marched on."

There are a number of outstanding expressions which capture the attention. The abiding need is "that kind of ministry to character, that alchemy of character which none among men has ever so exemplified as did Jesus, and which true followers of Christ seek to exemplify."

Many missionaries have sacrificed their lives for Africa. Some missions have been more successful than others. Nevertheless, it cannot be asserted conscientiously that the efforts were in vain. The seed has been sown. "It may be that Africa will never be Christianized until it is Christianized by Africans." It does seem as though the African has not been given a chance, and incidents cited from the situation at Johannesburg prove our point. That the treatment of Africans is thoroughly unchristian is shown by one quotation, namely, "Everything tends to keep the black in his position as a laborer in a measure that constitutes one of the grave problems of the future."

The conclusion contains a sentence which is the gist of the whole book: "Nothing is so necessary in Europe and America at the present moment as the reassertion in new power and majesty, of the moral values and the spiritual ideals."

J. Russell Fink

A History of Christian Missions in China. By K. S. Latourette, Professor of Missions and Oriental History, Yale University. New York: The Macmillan Company. XII + 930 pages. $5.00.

This, we are informed (p. 845) is the first general history of Missions in China written in English since the year 1706. There

have been not a few sectional histories in the meantime. Missions in China have also been allotted a fair portion of space in general mission histories. Then it is only about a year ago that that encyclopaedic writer on missions, Dr. Julius Richter, published a volume on *Das Werden der kristliche Kirche in China.* That book has, however, not been translated into English. Besides, it is not nearly as comprehensive nor by any means as fully documented as the volume before us. The bibliography in this new history alone covers over 50 pages and, we are informed, it includes only such books, reports, reviews and news articles as have been actually consulted by the author in the preparation of this large work. The Survey of Missions in China, prepared and published under the auspices of the International Missionary Council about a decade ago, is equally comprehensive, but only as far as pertains to mission work at a particular period of time. This volume attempts to tell the story from the beginning of Christian Missions to the year 1926.

The history of Missions in China falls into natural time periods. The author follows these in writing his history. There are first the early Nestorian Missions which penterated China as early as the seventh century. Then come the Franciscan Missions of the twelfth century and onwards in the time of the Mongol Dynasty. Change of dynasty practically obliterated this work. The Jesuit missionaries of the sixteenth century, who received their inspiration from the work of Francis Xavier, were the next to undertake the conversion of China. They tried to win China for the church by appealing to the literati and this was such an interesting experiment that the philosopher Leibnitz thought Protestants ought to follow the same methods. All the above history is presented in detail in 208 pages. The bulk of the history, it will be seen, is given to the modern missionary movement. This began in earnest with the work of Robert Morrison in 1809.

From this time on, too, the history divides itself naturally into distinct epochs. There was the early time of knocking at the unopened doors when China was still closed to missions. Even then Gützlaff, Medhurst and others, by their scholarship and tact, established contacts. One could wish that missionaries had continued to follow in their footsteps and had sought no alliance with secular powers to hasten the opening of China. This was, however, not to be. The opium wars, so-called, opened five treaty ports to trade and ceded Hong Kong to the British. Where trade was allowed to enter, missions too claimed the support and protection of their governments. This was distinctly written into the treaties of 1858. Because of this, missions are said to have been forced on China. The troubles of 1926 are directly related to this unchristian policy.

The Tai Ping rebellion threw China into confusion for years until General Gordon—known as Chinese Gordon—reduced China

to order; but it was under the old regime. The suppression of their revolt, too, would seem, in the light of recent disorders, to have delayed rather than helped the reorganization of China. From the time of the treaties, however, till 1900, missions progressed until, largely through the pioneer work of the China Inland Mission, practically all the large places in China proper were covered by a net work of missions.

The Boxer movement in 1900 ushered in a new era for missions. It was an era of unusual expansion. The Republic followed in 1911; and the second Republic in 1913. Whereas in 1900 there were less than 115,000 Protestant Christian communicants in China, in 1915 there were about 270,000 while the Christian community numbered over 500,000 (p. 680). The outlook was most promising. Then came the World War which raised high hopes and again, with the return of peace, blasted them. The great Student Convention in Peking in 1920 was followed by the reaction of the New Thought Movement, organized by Chinese students themselves. Prof. Dewey and Prof. Bertrand Russell are mentioned in this volume as those whose visits inspired educated Chinese to form this counter movement and to do it in the name of science. By itself this would not have been so serious but, with an awakened national consciousness that was determined to have the unequal treaties corrected, it led to the agitation of 1925 and subsequent years. What a different history might have been written had so-called Christian powers anticipated this demand and removed grievances of their own accord! The volume before us goes into great detail not only in tracing the work of Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox and Protestant Missions but also in narrating the beginings and the development of the various denominational missions. To collect and sift this material must have been a herculean task. It is of interest to note that, with all the divisions in the camp of Protestantism, its missions have more unity of spirit than has been shown in Roman Catholic missions, and that because Protestant missions from all lands have been inspired by the one great evangelical pietistic movement in the various churches.

The reader is impressed with the large place given in this volume to the work of the Y. M. C. A. in China. There is reason for this, for the Y. M. C. A. perhaps more than any other agency, has stood for the work of co-operation among missions as also for the movement that has been so effective in transferring leadership in the Christian movement from the foreign organization known as the mission to the church which is Chinese. This latter movement however only took definite shape after the period covered by this history. It is a history of missions we have here—not a history of churches, as the author himself admits (p. vii).

The history is interesting and, what is more to the point, authoritative. No extravagant claims are made about results. The

reverses that mission work has had in China are a warning to the cautious historian not to assume the rôle of prophet. There is, however, a calm assurance, and the history abundantly justifies it, about missions, and particularly about Protestant missions, that "the presence and labors of the missionary were most fortunate for China." The evils that have resulted from too close an alliance of the missionary enterprise with foreign governments are not overlooked. "On the whole, however, it was the one great agency whose primary function was to bring China into contact with the best in the Occident and to make the expansion of the West a means to the greater welfare of the Chinese people." If there is one note that we find missing in this appraisal of the results of mission work in China, it is the spiritual appeal that Christ has made to the thoughtful as he has been proclaimed through lives consecrated to his service.

Histories of a growing work will necessarily soon be superseded. Especially is this the case when progress is along new lines. The author recognizes that the history of the church in China needs a different history. It is safe to say, however, that this history is and will for some time be indispensable to the student of missions. It is a model of what such histories of missions in various lands ought to be.

JOHN ABERLY

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

BY-PATHS IN BOOKLAND

H. D. HOOVER

Books are tools. But bookland furnishes much more than instruments of knowledge. Too few, perhaps, find the richer harvest fields of thought and inspiration. "A university library is likely to be today an intellectual shop, where all manner of devices put the student quickly in control of information which can readily be made available for his instrumental purposes. It is no longer the retreat where leisurely readers browse about for the sake of reading itself." The philosopher quoted above elsewhere observes that the outstanding peculiarity of American thought and life is instrumentalism. It may be well therefore to report on a journey in bookland which was not made instrumentally, not even for the end of review.

It is difficult to make the plunge from the highway plastered with sign boards pointing to centers and terminals. The by-paths are full of dead leaves: paper leaves printed with dead ideas. There is considerable underbrush: immature ideas, scrub-oaks of stunted ideas, low and unworthy ideas that "just drain along the

ground." There are the shadows cast by the lofty ideals; there are the beautiful vistas from craggy heights; there are quiet pools and dashing waterfalls along the streams of vital thought. And sometimes the path is dusty.

Altar Stairs[1] is a path that leads to a quiet nook. Abiding here is refreshing, restful, unburdening and illuminating. It is a book of worship. The murmur of the language of the prayers is as sweet as the valley brook. There is a variety of beautiful acts of devotion that remind one of the old fashioned flower garden in full bloom. And as these flowers, they all lift the heart upward toward the "eternal hills from whence cometh our help." In a recent volume of fiction one of the characters "waits puzzled how she could be so penned at home, yet withal widen the way for her children with her seeing eyes and gentle voice and stories a-telling." This little *nook* of devotional literature has within it the power to widen and diversify the range of the minister's devotional thought and expression.

This inventory season gives a mental trend to all of us. Dr. Davis' study *The Credentials of the Church*[2] gives us a reassuring "inventory of the principal warrants which the Christian church possesses to justify its claim upon the support of individuals and communities in the twentieth century." This answer to the cynic, the critical censor, the indifferent and the militant opponent of the church is fair and friendly. It is apologetic but not an apology. It is always pleasant to hear a pleasing repetition of a truth we hold and cherish. One's admiration for the church grows as we linger near this fruit tree. We go on with a new conviction of the usefulness and helpfulness of the church.

At a turn in the road we come across twin springs. From them issues a stream of information about our highly prized four hundred year old catechism. These two books[3] present in readable form the essential facts which every Lutheran should know in connection with the celebration of the quadricentennial of Luther's Small Catechism, the wonder book of the ages.

It is scarcely necessary to quote the estimates of great men concerning this book; its remarkable history speaks for itself. In addition to the history of its creation and service, and a description of its nature given by these two works, there appear two very helpful chapters in Dr. Mueller's volume under the titles: The Use of

1 *Altar Stairs.* By Joseph F. Newton. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. 205 pages. $1.75.

2 *The Credentials of the Church.* By Pres. Ozora S. Davis. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. 116 pages. $1.25.

3 *The Story of the Catechism.* By Dr. Th. Graebner. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1928. 147 pages. *Four Hundredth Anniversary Luther's Small Catechism.* By Rev. John T. Mueller, Th.D. Burlington, Iowa: Lutheran Literary Board, 1929. 40 pages. $0.65.

the Small Catechism, and How Shall We Show Our Appreciation? Here with these volumes we pause to meditate on the great number whose thirst has been quenched at these springs, and how the stream they put forth flows on unabated and as satisfying to the thirsty as ever.

As the traveler proceeds he comes to a path that seems to point to an objective. Direction and order suggesting action take the place of conditions that invite the meditative mood. A series of seven Lenten Sermons[4] open to our view deep ravines reaching down into heart-searching truths. These practical and appealing sermons are presented vividly as if they had just come out of the pulpit. The Word connected with the seven questions is presented simply and attractively. The appeal and application is personal, direct and soul-awakening. The poetic quotations are apt and illuminating. The setting of the discourses between prayers in poetic form is impressive and beautiful. This by-path points to the next reading experience.

And the by-way leads up grade. *Saved to Serve*[5] is an appeal for practical Christianity. It is presented in a form simple enough for juniors. The second part deals with "enjoying church work." The essential factors for the enjoyment of church work, according to the author, are: Put a large amount of intelligence into your work, work hard at it, and consecrate your life to God. The treatise is brief. Perhaps valuable material was omitted. But the meditator is not conscious of omissions so much as of the urgency of the appeal to serve, to do, to live Christianity.

At a turn in the path comes a surprise.[6] On entering we read: "Our foremost American Catholic specialist perhaps in the subject, John A. Ryan, asserts that the social aspects of Christ's teachings have nowhere been more thoroughly, more judiciously, or more temperately set forth than in this work of Lugan, nor has Christ's teaching on the dignity of man, on fraternity, on equality, on liberty, been more accurately or suggestively explained. That further whets our appetite for a taste of this Frenchman's "monumental" work.

Of course Abbé Lugan writes as a Catholic. But our attention is arrested by the number of quotations (with approval) from American Protestant writers; as for example: Dr. Francis G. Peabody, Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch, Dean Shailer Mathews, (commending his *Social Teaching of Jesus* as "his fine book"), Prof.

4 *What Shall I Do With Jesus?* By Rev. Edward W. Schramm. Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern. 94 pages. $0.85.

5 *Saved to Serve.* By Rev. L. H. Schuh. Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern. 120 pages. $0.50.

6 *Social Principles of the Gospel.* By Alphonse Lugan. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. 262 pages. $2.25.

George D. Herron, and from the English non-conformist, Hugh Price Hughes. The attitude of the author is suggested by the viewpoint: "If the Gospel is not mere sociology, neither is it a merely individual way of salvation in the meaning of old-fashioned Protestantism and even of certain Catholics. The message of Jesus is addressed, we believe, to individuals and to societies, and the latter must follow it in order to have peace on this earth." It is interesting to note that on many points both Protestant and Catholic sociologists hold the same viewpoints on the social principles of the Gospel. There is a great temptation to tarry longer on this corner of the road. This is the first extensive book of Abbé Lugan to be translated into English.

We browse into the *Ambassador*[7] on page nine, where is quoted the exhortation from the ordination service in the Book of Common Prayer. Then as we proceed through eight aptly named chapters from "His Credentials" to "His Opportunity," we meditate upon the difficulty of surpassing the former Yale lectures on preaching. A distinguished list of preachers have delivered these lectures. This series of 1928 contains some very good observations, excellent quotations from able thinkers, an appreciative view of contemporary conditions, and makes an earnest attempt to point the way the ambassador must proceed to serve this present age. But what can eight lectures do toward mapping the path the minister must tread to follow in the footsteps of the Master?

Then the path circles the foothills and gives us some splendid glimpses of the mountains of Truth. This is another series of lectures to theologs (at Newton) by another bishop.[8] This closely reasoned volume arouses much thinking. It is is one of those quiet paths which one loves to traverse again. It widens at frequent intervals into tarrying places, where one looks outward, and upward and inward. A few plucked flowers can scarcely indicate the wealth of material in the garden or the nature of the complete stalk from which they come. But I shall present a few. Use your imagination as you read.

"We have gone far to wipe out the distinction between secular and sacred. A wise adage tells us however that wearing our Sunday clothes every day comes at last to wearing our everyday clothes on Sunday."

"We still need the prophet's voice to remind us that when we start out to fight the world the danger is that we shall use the world's own weapons."

7 *The Ambassador.* By Bishop James E. Freeman. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. 212 pages. $2.00.

8 *Humanism and Christianity.* By Bishop McConnell. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. 154 pages. $1.75.

"If division tends to discord, it is wrong; but if the practical effect of the division is to work out to the full the different phases of Christian development, our condemnation of sectarianism has to limit itself to asking how well such sectarianism has wrought as a tool. We may say all we please about comprehensiveness and inclusiveness of Christian view, but Christians are human, and human nature runs to specialization."

"The Reformation under Martin Luther made at least a beginning toward the just emphasis on the worth of the individual believer." (One is interested in the opposite interpretation of this very fact. It appears in Lugan's book mentioned above. In referring to the extravagant form of individualism held by Protestantism, the author says: "It would seem that such a narrow view of Christianity may be explained by the contempt for nature professed by Protestant orthodoxy since its origin. For Luther, not only is man totally corrupted and debased by sin, but the whole world is dominated and governed by evil.... Religion must, therefore, be solely occupied in turning man away from contact with a radically evil world, to apply him to his personal salvation. This salvation is wrought by grace from on high alone, since good deeds are in no sense within our reach.")

"Christianity cannot be a halfway religion. It must aim at all or nothing. That is to say, it must insist that the conversion of men must extend to their institutional activities."

"Jesus came under fire, not because his enemies misunderstood him, but because they understood him."

"Christian method of learning is through the deliberate putting forth of moral energy." "The only channel for an adequate revelation of the Divine to Christian vision is a life held by moral will to the Christian ideal."

"The more a human being seeks to live on the safe side, to travel a charted course, to confine himself to routine regularities, the more he falls away from humanity toward thinghood. The more he ventures toward the unseen the larger his humanity that can be seen. There are few ventures, however, that do not sooner or later involve traveling toward the Cross."

For thirty-five happy days I have found devotional inspiration, guidance and food in the new *Family Service Book.* No, I do not read the prayers after the first use of them, beautiful as they are; but I find that reading them myself before the moment of family prayers helps me pray both as to content and form. This spring of life has proven a rich tarrying place along the byway of bookland.

HOME BUILDING

Heredity and Child Culture. By Henry D. Chapin, M.D. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1928.

Mother and the Unborn Child. By Samuel Raynor Meaker. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1928. 198 pages. $2.50.

Conservation of the Family. By Paul Popenoe. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1928. 258 pages. $3.00.

Problems of Human Reproduction. By Paul Popenoe. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1928. 218 pages. $2.50.

Every pastor is called upon to give advice and render assistance in meeting the problems arising from crippled and disturbed home relations. He should be ready to give helpful and constructive service. This requires preparation. Not only are people ignorant, but a great number are misinformed. Too many are being guided by the false or half-truths of articles written for the consumption of the "fill-in" columns of the daily press.

The divorce situation, the changing conditions of the modern family, the disintegration of the home, and particularly the advertisement and publicity of these phases, together with certain fanciful solutions offered, demand the attention of religious leaders. Indeed the conditions require careful study and research. A beginning may be made by a study of the sociological and biological phases. After a careful reading of *Problems of the Family* by Willystine Goodsell for a survey of the social viewpoint, turn to Dr. Chapin's book. He "not only throws new light on parenthood as an art and a science, and the development of the child, but sets forth the most up-to-date information concerning child guidance clinics, the modern school and its functions, nutrition, legislation in behalf of children, child labor, and the adoption of children." This ought to prove a very helpful general study.

The other volumes mentioned contain information seldom available in non-technical form. Prof. Meaker's little book is full of valuable information and sound advice to the prospective mother. It tells what a woman wishes to know, and does so very simply and plainly. The book is practical, giving methods and offering guidance in many small but essential details.

Dr. Popenoe in *Conservation of the Family* gives an introduction to the history of the family as an institution. In it he considers those things which an individual cannot do for himself and which society must do for him.

Human Reproduction, the biology of sex, is a book for every intelligent man and woman. It is sane and simple, frank and clean. It tells the facts of human reproduction without offense. These works live up to the promise of their titles. They are quite worthwhile and reliable.

H. D. HOOVER

The Intimate Problems of Youth. By Rev. Earl S. Rudisill, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. 217 pages. $2.00.

This volume is just off the press. We give only a notice of it in this number, as a more extended review will be given later. The book deals with real problems of real young people. It is intended for youth and their leaders. It is interesting, scholarly and up-to-date. We heartily commend it.

JOHN ABERLY

A Quiet Room. By R. Ambrose Reeves. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928. 110 pages. $1.25.

This book of prayers and offices offers helpful contributions to our devotional literature. The contents are the outgrowth of actual prayer services, and so are tested by use. One of the most helpful offices is that for a Day of Prayer. Others of superior merit are: General Intercession—The World of International Affairs; The Industrial Life of Our Nation; For the Students of the World; The Increase of the Ministry; The Family Life of the Parish; The Children of the Parish; and For Those Who Teach in Day and Church School. There are other suggestive offices and helps toward more serviceful and intelligently directed devotions. It should prove a valuable source book for the leader of special services of prayer.

H. D. HOOVER

The Path to God. By Albion Fellows Bacon. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928. 76 pages. $1.25.

The author seeks to pass on her vital spiritual experiences. Here is the expression of an unusual faith, an earnest conviction, and the thoughts of the inmost recesses of the heart that has found God. It aims to give help to those whose spirituality is shallow or clouded with confusion.

H. D. HOOVER

The Fiery Crags. By F. W. Boreham. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1928. 285 pages. $1.75.

Here is another of those delightfully written talks of this brilliant Australian, who is too great to be confined to Australia: the world is his field. The present volume gives us interesting side-lights, glimpses and glances, side yard idyls, glowing afterthoughts, swelling overtones, and bewitching by-paths. These unusual viewpoints of the truth are inspirational.

H. D. HOOVER

The Christ of God. By S. Parkes Cadman. New York: The Macmillan Company. 180 pages. $1.75.

In this small volume we have given to us the lectures delivered by Dr. Cadman on the Shaffer Foundation at Northwestern University. These lectures are on the following subjects: The Christ of Christian Tradition; The Threefold Approach to the Person of Christ; The Christ of a Growing Experience; The Christ in the Modern World; The Christ of Tomorrow. The lectures are of a popular character. They may be regarded as a review in brief of the latest literature about Christ. The bibliography entirely accords with this estimate of the lectures. The Gospel records, Christian experience and historical development are treated as if they were equally cogent testimonies to Jesus. The reader misses the emphasis on the Gospel records and on the consciousness of Jesus Himself as the supreme facts to be considered in our knowledge of the Christ God. The book makes interesting reading, although because of its popular character it can not be said to make any distinct contribution to the understanding of the Person of our Lord. Its chief value lies in the bird's eye view it presents of recent literature concerning Christ.

JOHN ABERLY

Tongues of Fire—a Bible Composed of Sacred Scriptures of the Pagan World. Compiled by Grace H. Turnbull. New York: The Macmillan Company. 416 pages. $3.50.

This is a selection of passages from the Sacred Books of Egypt, India, Persia, Arabia, and China, as also from Greek philosophers and moralists. It does not profess to give to the reader and idea of the books as a whole. The selections are prefaced with passages from different sources about the unknown God. As an anthology it is interesting and instructive. As a guide to the understanding of the various religions, it, as a matter of course, can have but little value.

JOHN ABERLY

ERRATA

In the article on "German Missions in India During the War" in the January, 1929, *Lutheran Church Quarterly,* the following corrections ought to be noted: p. 52, line 8, "General Board" should read "General Synod Board"; p. 55, line 7, in place of "March 1919," read "April 29 and May 1, 1919." For this correction indebtedness is acknowledged to Rev. I. Cannaday. On the same page, line 22, and again lines 32 and 33, the name "A. G. Rupley" ought to be "G. A. Rupley."

JOHN ABERLY

BOOKS RECEIVED

For the information of its readers and in acknowledgment to the publishers, *The Lutheran Church Quarterly* publishes the following list of books received. More extended notice will be given later to as many of them as space permits.

Babson, Roger W., *Storing Up Triple Reserves.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. 364 pages. $2.00.

Betz, Carl, and Paul Krutzky, *Themes for Vital Preaching.* (Preaching Methods). New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1929. 272 pages. $2.00.

Bring, S. L., *The Man of Suffering. Meditations and Prayers for Every Day in Lent.* Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1929. 202 pages. $1.25.

Bundy, W. E., *Our Recovery of Jesus.* Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Company, 1929. 350 pages. $2.50.

Clark, Elmer, *The Psychology of Religious Awakening.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. 170 pages. $2.50.

Daily Devotions for Lutheran Youth. By Twelve Pastors of the Augustana Synod. Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1929. 427 pages. $2.00.

Fiske, George Walter, *The Changing Family* (Social and Religious Aspects of the Modern Family). New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928. 324 pages. $2.25.

Gerber, W., *Missionary Year Book,* 1929. Leipzig, 1928. 154 pages. 2 Marks.

Harden, J. M., *The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. 136 pages.

Hutcheon, Robert J., *Frankness in Religion.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. 307 pages. $2.50.

Klotsche, E. H., *Christian Symbolics.* Burlington, Iowa: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1929. 413 pages. $3.50.